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**PHILANTHROPY AND SECULARISATION: THE FUNDING OF ANGLICAN
RELIGIOUS VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN LONDON, 1856 TO 1914**

Sarah Emma Jayne Flew, BA (Hons) MA

Religious Studies, Arts

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of five Anglican home-missionary organisations which operated in the Diocese of London in the latter half of the nineteenth century. These five organisations were all entirely dependant upon the financial support of the Anglican laity to provide their revenue. The main thrust of the thesis is an analysis of the finances of these home-missionary organisations. The initial four questions that this thesis examines are: how did the organisations raise money; who did they solicit support from; to what extent were the societies successful in soliciting financial support to carry out their aims; and did the funding revenue streams remain stable through the period? This is with the main purpose of evaluating the Anglican community's support of these organisations during the period of study, in terms of who gave financial support and how this changed. Drawing on the wealth of material contained in the annual reports of the organisations chosen for this study, this thesis provides a comprehensive analysis of the subscriptions and donations and in doing so identifies an important shift in the gender-base of the laity's support at the end of the period. In seeking to explain the loss of the male funder in the late nineteenth century, the thesis engages with the key wider themes of philanthropy and secularisation. The assumption of this thesis is that modern religious bodies have to function as economic agents, that they need steady sources of income, and have to have mechanisms to raise sufficient funds on an annual basis. It argues that the decline in financial support from the Anglican laity within the period was not a result of failing fundraising techniques of the organisations themselves. Instead, it was a symptom of a wider malaise. The thesis explores the ethos of giving in the latter half of the nineteenth century and argues that an important factor in the decline of giving was the waning of the teaching of the doctrine of Christian stewardship after its mid-century renaissance. It argues that the new generation of Christians born in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not have the same ethos of giving that their parents had held. In doing so, it concludes that this

shift was a significant change in the ‘consequential dimension’ of religion, which is how people behave as a consequence of their faith.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACS	Additional Curates' Society
<i>AD</i>	<i>Ancilla Domini</i>
BGCF	Bethnal Green Churches and Schools Fund
BLF	Bishop of London's Fund
CBC	Church Building Commissioners
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CPAS	Church Pastoral Aid Society
CSA	Community of St Andrew
CWFLR	Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues
DBF	Diocesan Board of Finance
<i>ELCC</i>	<i>East London Church Chronicle</i>
ELCF	East London Church Fund
GDA	Girls' Diocesan Association
ICBS	Incorporated Church Building Society
ICES	Islington Church Extension Society
ICHM	Islington Church Home Mission
LDA	Ladies' Diocesan Association
LDCBS	London Diocesan Church Building Society
LDDI	London Diocesan Deaconess Institution
LDHM	London Diocesan Home Mission
<i>LDM</i>	<i>London Diocesan Magazine</i>
LHA	Lay Helpers' Association
LHAC	Lewisham History and Archives Centre

LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
MCF	Metropolis Churches Fund
PMWA	Parochial Mission Women Association
PGU	Proportionate Giving Union
SBS	Systematic Beneficence Society
SHSC	Senate House Special Collection
SPG	Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
SRA	Scripture Readers' Association
STG	Society of the Treasury of God
TNA	The National Archives
WDA	Women's Diocesan Association

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1. Introduction

The sociologist Bryan Wilson argues that: ‘Religious economics is a neglected field, but it can readily be stated that the proportion of the Gross National Product diverted to the supernatural has diminished in the course of the centuries.’¹ This quote is the starting point for this thesis, which endeavours to develop a dialogue in this particular field of research. It takes the view that a decline in financial commitment can be a measure of changing public attitudes towards religion. As a case study, its aim is to evaluate the financial commitment of the laity to Anglican diocesan home-missionary organisations in London in the period 1856 to 1914 and to judge whether this commitment remained stable. The organisations chosen for this analysis are five diocesan Anglican home-missionary organisations established between 1856 and 1880.

The nineteenth century saw an explosion in the population of England and Wales. This increase was particularly concentrated in urban centres, such as London.² In response to this growth, both Charles James Blomfield (Bishop of London between 1828 and 1856) and Archibald Campbell Tait (Bishop of London between 1856 and 1868) supported and developed a range of diocesan organisations with the purpose of evangelizing the unchurched masses of London. The Church did not itself have the funds to finance these organisations and was, therefore, forced to find alternative sources of money. Its response was to turn to the laity. Edward Lewes Cutts (1824-1901), perpetual curate of Billericay, made this point in a

¹ Bryan Wilson, *Contemporary Transformations of Religion* (1976, Oxford: Oxford University Press, paperback edition 1979), p. 25.

² The population of the Diocese of London in 1851 was 2,143,340. In 1911 it was 3,811,827. Archibald Campbell Tait, *Charge Delivered in November 1858 to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, at his Primary Visitation by Archibald Campbell, Lord Bishop of London* (London: Rivingtons, 1858), pp. 15-16; *Official Yearbook of the Church of England*, 1913, p. xxviii.

plea on behalf of the Additional Curates Society in 1860: 'What is lacking? Chiefly money to carry out the work; and that God has given in unprecedented abundance to the laity of England; and now he calls upon them to provide that which is lacking to carry out this new Reformation.'³ The title of the tract, *The Conversion of the Pocket*, published in the 1890s by Edwin Arthur Watkins (Vicar of Ubbetson in Suffolk and founder of the Proportionate Giving Union) exactly summed up the task that the Church needed to accomplish.⁴ The financial resources were there; all the Church needed to do was to persuade people to give, and to give generously. It is the laity's financial relationship with the Church of England through the funding of its diocesan home-missionary organisations that is the central topic of this thesis.

Specifically, the thesis will examine the funding of a range of Anglican religious voluntary organisations, established to serve the Diocese of London across the period of 1856 to 1914. The date 1856 has been chosen as the starting point because Bishop Tait was installed as Bishop of London in that year. The majority of the organisations chosen for this study were established during Tait's episcopate. All were still in existence in 1914, the closing date for the period of study. The commencement of World War I has been chosen as the end date because of the significant economic changes as a result of the war and the consequential impact on philanthropy. In addition, 1914 was also the year that the Church of England introduced a dramatic restructuring of its financial system with the creation of the Central Board of Finance and individual Diocesan Boards of Finance. After 1914 the London Diocesan Board of Finance took on responsibilities for managing aspects of the funding of some of its diocesan societies.

³ Edward Lewes Cutts, *On Church Extension and New Endowments* (London: Rivingtons, 1860), p. 25. Cutts was Vicar of Holy Trinity, Haverstock Hill, 1871 -1901; Secretary of the Additional Curates Society, 1865-71.

⁴ Proportionate Giving Union, *The Conversion of the Pocket* (Clacton-on-Sea, n.d.). The PGU was founded in 1887 by an Evangelical vicar who had previously been a Church Missionary Society missionary. See Chapter 7.

The principal organisations chosen for this study are all home-missionary organisations created within the Diocese of London as additional supports to the parochial machinery. The selected organisations are the Bishop of London's Fund (BLF), established in 1863, and the diocesan organisations which it funded. The BLF was an innovative diocesan grant-making body which raised and distributed money. The diocesan organisations in London which it funded were the London Diocesan Home Mission (LDHM), established in 1857; the Parochial Mission Women Association (PMWA), established in 1860; the London Diocesan Deaconess Institution (LDDI), established in 1861; and the Lay Helpers' Association (LHA), established in 1865. The study also includes the East London Church Fund (ELCF), established in 1880, which was a spin-off sister organisation of the BLF. The ELCF was established by Bishop William Walsham How in his capacity as Suffragan Bishop of Bedford; this newly created role gave him specific responsibility for the East End of London. Reference to the interdenominational London City Mission (LCM), established in 1835, is made for comparative purposes. These societies vary in terms of the Church party and gender of their committees, and their employment of clergy and lay help. The variety in these societies, in their constitution and their objects, means that it possible in the analysis to look for a commonality of experience in relation to their financial support.

In examining these diocesan societies, this thesis describes both the form of the home-missionary provision and how this provision was funded. In particular, it has systematically mapped who the funders of these home-missionary organisations were by analysing the gender and class of the financial supporters and the size of their contributions. The main thrust of the thesis is an analysis of the finances of these organisations. The initial four questions examined are: how did the Church societies raise money; who did they solicit support from; to what extent were the societies successful in soliciting financial support to carry out their aims; and

did the funding revenue streams remain stable? This is with the main purpose of evaluating the Anglican laity's support of these organisations in relation to who gave financial support and how this had changed by the end of the period. The analysis will quantify both decline and demographic change. The principal finding of this analysis is an important shift in the gender-base of the laity's support, which identifies the loss of the wealthy businessman as a committed supporter of these diocesan societies at the end of the period. The remainder of this Introduction first outlines the sources for and methodology employed in interpreting the data on financial support which underpins this thesis. It then goes on to discuss the wider themes which have shaped the ways in which the data has been employed.

2. Sources and Scope

London, in the period of this study, makes a suitable case for the study of both philanthropy and Anglican home-missionary provision. Firstly, the problem of spiritual destitution was amplified in London due to dramatic population growth. Consequently, several statistical surveys were carried out in the nineteenth century which give an account of the level of religious provision in London. Secondly, London tended to take the lead in charitable concerns, with the provinces then setting up their own branches. Thirdly, London philanthropy involved the wealthy elite on a national scale; the upper-classes typically had a second home in London where they lived during the London season. Fourthly, philanthropy in London was not dominated by wealthy industrialists or Nonconformists as it was in provincial cities, such as Bristol. Instead, London contained an unrivalled concentration of wealthy Anglicans employed in professions such as finance and brewing.⁵ Fifthly, and practically, a wealth of primary source material has survived relating to this subject. This is in the form of the minute

⁵ Martin Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth-century Bristol* (Rochester and New York: Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 32-34. Most of the philanthropists listed in the directory *The Charitable Ten Thousand* (published in 1896 and 1904) have London addresses. This directory is discussed in Chapter 5.

books, printed annual reports, working papers, sermons and the publications of the home-missionary organisations; plus bishop's papers, the personal papers of wealthy individuals, and a range of metropolitan charitable directories which were published in this period. Finally, case studies on London have previously led the debate on the secularisation narrative.⁶ Consequently, London, in this period, provides the ideal vehicle to study changing patterns in philanthropy from the middle- and upper-classes towards religious voluntary organisations.

In researching this topic, the thesis has drawn on a range of primary source materials which have so far received little attention. The principal tool of communication for any charitable organisation was the printed annual report. This included: a statement of income and expenditure for the year; lengthy subscription lists; and details of its good works for the year. Virtually complete sets of annual reports are available for the LDDI, ELCF and LCM. The provision for the BLF, LDHM and PMWA was less comprehensive. This has affected the completeness of the data available, with figures being recoverable for more years for the LDDI, ELCF and LCM than the other societies. It was, however, possible to supplement the annual report information with additional material from a variety of other sources. The aim throughout has been to use a wide range of sources that can recreate the financial life of these Anglican religious voluntary organisations. This is with two main aims in mind. Firstly, the aim is to analyse the financial detail and health of the organisations chosen for this study. Secondly, the thesis sets out to analyse the individual funder-base of each society. Writing in 1965, David Owen claimed that 'the generality of contributors to late Victorian charity must remain an anonymous mass, for there is little evidence as to their identity, their numbers, and

⁶ Examples of such London based studies: Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974); S.C. Williams, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture in Southwark, c. 1880-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

their motives'.⁷ However, the detailed analysis of the subscription lists in this thesis makes it possible to identify the financial supporters as individuals. It is remarkable that books on philanthropy have very little discussion of the actual philanthropists. For example, Olive Checkland refers to the Dick bequest saying it was 'one of the most interesting of the educational endowments in Victorian Scotland', and yet supplies only brief information about James Dick.⁸ Generally, the philanthropists mentioned are those of great fame, such as the first Duke of Westminster (1825-1899) or Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906). This deficiency in approach will be addressed in this thesis which will consider and analyse the demographic base and identities of the funders of the selected Anglican home-missionary organisations.

The analysis in subsequent chapters interrogates every financial payment listed as a donation or subscription in the selected annual reports. Each subscription and donation payment has been categorised by size and by source. The source categorisations are: male, female, both male and female (i.e. a married couple), anonymous, corporate bodies and groups. The payments from individuals categorised as 'Male', 'Female' or 'Both' were all then assigned a sub-classification to indicate their status; this was based on their form of address. This sub-classification categorises all people as being either clergy (e.g., Reverend, Bishop), titled (e.g., Lady, Sir, Duke) or commoner (e.g., Esq, Miss). The female payments were then subcategorised by title to signify marital status, based upon the form of address used.⁹ This categorisation has made it possible to establish the main demographic of the funder-base (in

⁷ D.E. Owen, *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 479.

⁸ Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1980), p. 105.

⁹ The methodology is explained fully in Chapter 5.

terms of gender and status) for each organisation and then, consequently, to track changes in this support over time.¹⁰

Robert Wuthnow and Virginia Hodgkinson state in their book *Faith and Philanthropy in America* (1990) that ‘we remain in the dark about most of the connections between religion and giving in our society’.¹¹ This comment is also true where the historiography of modern British religion, and specifically the Church of England and giving, is concerned. The purpose of this thesis is to develop a dialogue in this much neglected area. Its analysis of the financial relationship between the Anglican laity and the Church of England will provide a gauge of the level of support for its objects and therefore utilises philanthropy to religious voluntary organisations as an indicator of changing public attitude towards religion.

3. Themes

The financing of religious voluntary organisations is one area of history that would seem to fall naturally within the remit of historians of modern religion. However, this particular aspect of research has received little attention. Instead, the historiography of the Church of England in the modern period has charted the development of the Church’s large financial institutions, such as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Queen Anne’s Bounty.¹² Other works have also explored different aspects of interplay between religion and economics: the influence of evangelicalism on social and economic thought; the problem of the acquisition of wealth by both the Church and the individual, as expressed in the biblical teaching ‘Ye cannot serve God

¹⁰ This analysis and categorisation will be more fully explained in Chapter 5.

¹¹ Robert Wuthnow and Virginia Ann Hodgkinson, ‘Introduction’ in Robert Wuthnow and Virginia Ann Hodgkinson, *Faith and Philanthropy in America: Exploring the Role of Religion in America’s Voluntary Sector* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990), p. xiii.

¹² Geoffrey Best, *Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne’s Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the Church of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); R.M. Morris (ed.), *Church and State in 21st Century Britain: The Future of Church Establishment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Kenneth A. Thompson, *Bureaucracy and Church Reform: The Organizational Response of the Church of England to Social Change, 1800-1965* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970).

and mammon'¹³; and the relationship between business and religion.¹⁴ Not one of these major works has focused specifically on the financial relationship between the Church and its laity.¹⁵ This is an aspect of church finance which is as equally important as the revenues superintended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or the mechanics of parish finance. The aim of this thesis is to take the specific approach of putting an evaluation of the financial support of the Anglican laity at its core, rather than making it a peripheral and incidental concern.

In recent years, American religious historians have made a concerted effort to initiate a dialogue in this area. In the 1990s, the project "Financing of American Religion" was carried out by the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals at Wheaton College.¹⁶ One of the core purposes of the project was to research individual giving in a variety of ways, such as: the relationship between giving and income; the relationship between giving and involvement; the connection between giving and pledging; denominational differences in individual giving; and historical trends in giving.¹⁷ The project principally examined a range of topics associated with the financial issues facing religious groups at that time but it also sought to historicise

¹³ Matthew 6:24, *Authorised King James Bible*.

¹⁴ Jane Garnett, 'Aspects of the Relationship between Protestant Ethics and Economic Activity in Mid-Victorian England', University of Oxford, DPhil thesis, 1986; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought* (1988, Oxford: Clarendon, 2001); David J. Jeremy, *Capitalists and Christians: Business Leaders and the Churches in Britain, 1900-1960* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); David J. Jeremy (ed.), *Religion, Business, and Wealth in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1998); W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds), *The Church and Wealth*, Studies in Church History 24 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987). See also J.P. Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism: The Church Rate Conflict in England and Wales, 1832-1868* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994) which explores the abolition of the compulsory church rate in 1868.

¹⁵ Examples of works that consider laity funding through the mechanism of the pew rent are: S.J.D. Green, 'The Death of Pew Rents, the Rise of Bazaars, and the End of the Traditional Political Economy of Voluntary Religious Organisations: the case of the West Riding of Yorkshire, c. 1870-1914', *Northern History*, 27 (1991), pp. 198-235; Callum G. Brown, 'The Costs of Pew-renting: Church Management, Church-going and Social Class in Nineteenth Century Glasgow', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38:3 (July 1987), pp. 347-61; John Charles Bennett, 'The English Anglican Practice of Pew-renting, 1800-1960', University of Birmingham, PhD thesis, 2011.

¹⁶ Mark Chaves, 'The Financing of American Religion Initiative Evaluation: Final Report' (unpublished report, Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, November 1997), p. 1.

¹⁷ Chaves, 'The Financing of American Religion Initiative Evaluation', pp. 6-10.

religious finance by embedding the currently experienced problems in the historical infrastructure and tradition of voluntary giving that emerged in the nineteenth century. The historical subsidiary project concentrated on a historical examination of American evangelical religion.¹⁸ The Final Evaluation Report of 'Financing of American Religion' laid out the project's initial findings and indicated a number of areas for further study. The project found that the denominations that had the higher per capita income did so not because individuals had higher income but because of the way that giving was institutionalised by that denomination. So, by way of example, denominations that had a tradition of pledging had higher per capita income than those that did not. Linked with this, differences in denominational practice (such as the use of pledging or tithing) were related to theological differences.¹⁹ It was found, for example, that levels of Catholic giving were lower than those for Protestant giving because Protestant churches placed more emphasis on the concept of Christian stewardship and therefore were more likely to institutionalise this concept in practices such as the signing of annual pledge cards.²⁰ Another avenue of research indicated was the correlation between involvement and finance; that financial decline could be directly connected to a decline in church membership or involvement.²¹ Several of these themes are engaged with in subsequent chapters. These examine the Church of England's teaching of the theology of Christian stewardship in the nineteenth century; the degree to which Anglican home-missionary organisations secured their funds from committee members; and, in particular, trends in male and female giving. The two major strands of historiography which have shaped and influenced the approach of this thesis are the themes of philanthropy and

¹⁸ Larry Eskridge and Mark Noll (eds), *More Money, More Ministry: Money and Evangelicals in Recent North American History* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge: W.B. Eerdmans, 2000); Mark A. Noll (ed.), *God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹⁹ Chaves, 'The Financing of American Religion Initiative Evaluation', pp. 15–16.

²⁰ Dean R. Hoge et al., 'Giving in Five Denominations', in Mark Chaves and Sharon L. Miller, eds, *Financing American Religion* (1999, New York and Plymouth, Rowman Littlefield, 2008), pp. 3–10.

²¹ Chaves, 'The Financing of American Religion Initiative Evaluation', pp. 19–29.

secularisation. The thesis argues that the decline in giving to Anglican home-missionary organisations is evidence of a significant change in the relationship between the laity and the Church at the end of the nineteenth century.

3.1 Philanthropy

In modern language the words ‘charity’ and ‘philanthropy’ can be used virtually synonymously. Traditionally, however, the word charity had a more Christian foundation, with ‘caritas’ meaning love. One definition of charity in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* makes this traditional connection with Christianity: it defines charity in Christian thought ‘as the highest form of love, signifying the reciprocal love between God and man that is made manifest in unselfish love of one’s fellow men’.²² In 1882, the periodical *The Philanthropist* commented that the word ‘charity’ had become ‘degenerate’, and was being used merely to describe the dispensing of alms. Instead, it advocated the use of the word ‘philanthropy’:

Philanthropy, on the other hand, embraces that wider field of useful work best understood by the words, Thrift and Providence. It is a great and glorious system of natural benevolence which seeks to advance the interest of mankind in matters temporal and spiritual.²³

In this thesis the term ‘philanthropy’ will be used instead of the term ‘charity’ because it better conveys the sense of a person giving their time and money to support a charitable cause. In addition, it has been the term more generally utilised in the historiography.²⁴ The focus on finance in this thesis will, therefore, mean that the research examines philanthropy in the sense of funding, rather than the usual research emphasis of ‘good works’ either carried out by an

²² ‘Charity’, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*, accessed 17 Oct. 2011, <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/106513/charity>>.

²³ *The Philanthropist*, 1882, No. 1, Vol. 1, p. 6.

²⁴ For example: Owen, *English Philanthropy*; W.K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (1959, London: George Allen and Unwin, second edition, 1964); F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*.

individual or organisation. Its viewpoint, therefore, is a specific reading of the pecuniary sense of philanthropy.

The historiographical approach to philanthropy has taken seven basic forms: a general history of philanthropy through the centuries;²⁵ a study of philanthropy in a set location;²⁶ the role of charity in class relations;²⁷ the history of a philanthropic organisation;²⁸ the biography of a famous philanthropist;²⁹ the role of philanthropy in the lives of women;³⁰ and the history of philanthropy in the context of the rise of the welfare state.³¹ Academic writing on philanthropy in the modern period has mainly been more concerned with the issues that philanthropy set out to remedy (health, poverty, prostitution, alcohol abuse, education, and housing) than the impulse behind the philanthropy. David Owen, for example, states openly in *English Philanthropy* that he has deliberately ‘largely ignored’ the topic of directly religious philanthropy.³² The preoccupation with bodily, rather than spiritual, welfare has resulted in a rather skewed historiography of philanthropy that has underplayed the role of religion and religious motivation.³³ This view that nineteenth-century philanthropy was a prelude to the creation of the welfare state is pervasive throughout the historiography. Frank Prochaska states:

Charting philanthropy’s evolution is a complicated business because of its many byways and cul-de-sacs, and because it has been so bound up with the evolution of the welfare state in the historiography. The tendency to see it as a stage in the development

²⁵ For example, see Owen, *English Philanthropy*; Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*.

²⁶ For example, see Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*; Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*.

²⁷ For example, see Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

²⁸ For example, see Robert Humphreys, *Poor Relief and Charity, 1869-1945: The London Charity Organization Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

²⁹ For example, see Clare Mulley, *The Woman who Saved the Children: A Biography of Eglantyne Jebb, the Founder of Save the Children* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2010).

³⁰ For example, see Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

³¹ For example, see Pat Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State* (London: Longman, 1982).

³² Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 3.

³³ For comments on this deficiency see: Hall, ‘The History of Religious Philanthropy in America’ in Wuthnow and Hodgkinson (eds), *Faith and Philanthropy in America*, pp. 38-40; Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p. 12.

of the statutory social services has not been helpful to our appreciation of its persistence and variety. The provision of welfare is central to philanthropy, but it is far from being its sole concern. Nor should we forget that much benevolence takes place in areas which fit ill with a view to welfare inherited from the state. For their part, Victorian philanthropists commonly held a holistic view to human life. They did not usually make distinctions, which to them were arbitrary, between religious and social welfare.³⁴

Religion often provided both the major philanthropic impulse and the major machinery for philanthropy's delivery. An appreciation of religion's role in philanthropy can be seen in research that has explored female philanthropic action and the influence of evangelicalism on philanthropy. These works, typifying the historiographical approach to philanthropy, analyse philanthropy in terms of the 'good works' done rather than a pecuniary understanding of philanthropy. Frank Prochaska's and Maria Luddy's studies of women and philanthropy in the nineteenth century, in England and Ireland respectively, both emphasise the religious impetus behind female philanthropic action.³⁵ There have also been several works which have highlighted the important influence of evangelicalism on philanthropy in the nineteenth century. For example, Kathleen Heasman's book, *Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of their Social Work in the Victorian Era* (1962), puts evangelical religious impetus at its centre.³⁶ However, of the five Anglican diocesan home-missionary organisations chosen for this study, none was entirely evangelical in character. The two Anglican societies which used female workers (the LDDI and the PMWA) both had committees which were High Church in character. In contrast, the three societies which used male workers (the BLF, LDHM and ELCF) all had mixed Church party committees reflecting that they were collaborative efforts addressing the whole of the diocese. This mixed-party collaboration is notable in a period that

³⁴ Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber, 1988), p. xiii. See also Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The De-moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values*, (London: IEA Health and Welfare Unit, 1995), p. 163.

³⁵ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*; Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy*.

³⁶ Kathleen Joan Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of their Social Work in the Victorian Era* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1962).

is marked by increasing party conflict.³⁷ Only the interdenominational LCM, the society included for comparative purposes, was evangelical in character. These themes of gender and Church party, in connection with philanthropy, will be important to discussions in later chapters.

In addition, both the promotion of giving and the theology of giving will be explored in what follows. Inherent within philanthropy, in the nineteenth century, was the tension between ‘heart-felt giving’ (as an emotional response) and ‘regular giving’ (as a routine activity). Boyd Hilton’s work charts a move towards the acceptability of systematic ‘regulation of benevolence’ in the latter nineteenth century, ‘as works came to be emphasized above piety’.³⁸ One aspect of this mid-century focus on systematising Christian stewardship was the founding in 1860 of the Systematic Beneficence Society (SBS).³⁹ The central principle in the concept of systematised giving was the doctrine of Christian stewardship. This is the doctrine that God is the absolute owner of all property in the world, and that man simply acts as his manager or steward. The principle is that as a steward, man must use the resources wisely for the benefit of all (as God would wish his resources to be used) and not solely for man’s own pleasure. The international ‘Renaissance of Stewardship’ facilitated by the SBS, in Great Britain and America, was at its most vital in the mid nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Two Anglican societies founded in the late 1880s attempted to revive the idea of systematised giving: these were the Society of the Treasury of God (STG) and the Proportionate Giving Union (PGU). This attempted revival came at a time when several diocesan conferences and publications commented upon the lack

³⁷ This will be discussed in the context of the Church party conflicts of the 1850s and 1860s in Chapter 3. See James C. Whisenaut, *A Fragile Unity: Anti-ritualism and the Division of Anglican Evangelicalism in the Nineteenth Century* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2003).

³⁸ Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, p. 104.

³⁹ Jane Garnett, ‘“Gold and the Gospel”: Systematic Beneficence in Mid-Nineteenth Century England’, in Sheils and Wood (eds), *The Church and Wealth*, pp. 347-58.

⁴⁰ ‘Renaissance of Stewardship’ is the title of Chapter 6 (in Part II) in Harvey Reeves Calkins, *A Man and His Money* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1914). The decline of the SBS in the 1870s is discussed in Chapter 7.

of teaching on Christian stewardship in the Church of England. The teaching of this doctrine in the modern period has received little attention from scholars and is an important factor in considering the laity's financial commitment to the Church.⁴¹ In addition, the teaching of the theology of giving and its consequent promotion of philanthropy is of vital importance to understanding the trends in philanthropy in the nineteenth century.⁴² Levels of giving will, therefore, be considered within this context. Crucially, this thesis will argue that in the late nineteenth century the ethic of giving was supplanted with secular forms of fundraising.

3.2 Secularisation

One of the key difficulties in discussing secularisation is in defining religion. The sociologists Charles Glock and Rodney Stark in *Religion and Society in Tension* address this difficulty of quantifying religiosity and changes in religiosity. They explain the elusive nature of the term 'religion' and its derivations:

Yet, if we carefully examine the imagery which the words stimulate, it is not that people disagree on definitions so much as that they use these words, which are multidimensional in meaning, in an unidimensional way. They tend to equate religion with belief *or* with practice *or* with experience without recognizing consciously that the other dimensions exist.⁴³

Glock and Stark argue that we should replace our unidimensional model of religion with a multidimensional model. They propose five dimensions of religiosity. Firstly, the 'experiential dimension' is an emotionally characterised dimension encompassing experiences such as conversion and felt communication with God. Secondly, the 'intellectual dimension' relates to an individual's knowledge of their religion in the form of the sacred scriptures of their faith.

⁴¹ See Chapter 5 in Garnett, 'Aspects of the Relationship' on the mid nineteenth century; and D.A. Hunter Johnston, *Stewardship and the Gospel* (Exeter: Short Run Press, 1995 abridged second edition) on the twentieth century.

⁴² Stewardship and systematised giving is the subject of Chapter 7.

⁴³ Charles Young Glock and Rodney Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), p. 70.

Thirdly, the 'ideological dimension' relates to the specific beliefs that an individual will hold in relation to their faith. This is, for example, through belief in the virgin birth or original sin. Fourthly, the 'ritualistic dimension' relates to the rituals of faith: attending church worship, prayer, rites of passage. Fifthly, the 'consequential dimension' relates to the behaviour of people as a consequence of their faith; so how people live out their Christians standards or ethical stance in their day-to-day lives. This is, for example, through good works and giving money to charity.⁴⁴ It is this final dimension which is the focus of this thesis. These different dimensions are echoed in Ninian Smart's 'Seven Dimensions of Religions', in which the 'Ethical and Legal Dimension' encompasses charity.⁴⁵

Secularisation has been a constant theme in the historiography of modern religion since its articulation in the 1950s. Its dominance has been criticised by Jeffrey Cox who terms it the 'master narrative of religion in modern history' and argues that: 'There is something about the theory of secularisation that leads repeatedly to the stripping away of the legitimacy of the religious point of view of individuals in the modern world.'⁴⁶ Nevertheless, despite the contentious nature of the theory of secularisation, it continues to be a central narrative within nineteenth- and twentieth-century Anglican and Nonconformist church history.⁴⁷ Scholarship on secularisation is divided between those who continue to strive to illuminate the critical phase of secularisation, in either the nineteenth or twentieth century, and those who stress the enduring and adaptive nature of religion. The dominant themes in these discussions have been the religiosity of both the working-class and women. The approach, in this thesis, is to engage

⁴⁴ Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society*, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁵ Ninian Smart, *The World's Religions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 12-20.

⁴⁶ Jeffrey Cox, 'Master Narratives of Long-term Religious Change', in Hugh McLeod and Werner Ustorf, *The Decline of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 204 and p. 208. See also Jeremy Morris, 'Secularization and Religious Experience: Arguments in the Historiography of Modern British Religion', *Historical Journal*, 55:1 (2012), pp. 195-219.

⁴⁷ See Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

with secularisation theory through the innovative angle of a particular aspect of the laity's financial relationship with the Church of England.

Historians have engaged with secularisation theory by interrogating different sources and by employing different methodologies: some have examined 'religiosity' whilst others have examined 'religious behaviour'.⁴⁸ Many of the case studies in the initial decades of the 1950s to the 1970s, focused on institutional church life and measured levels of church membership and church attendance as indicators of secularisation. These early studies concentrated on urbanisation and industrialisation as causes of secularisation.⁴⁹ Next in the historiography came the revisionists. These historians were concerned with challenging notions of broader decline and portrayed instead the vibrancy of the church in local case studies.⁵⁰ Jeffrey Cox's and Simon Green's local studies, of Lambeth and Yorkshire respectively, were concerned with the status of the church in society, and placed particular emphasis on the high levels of community services provided by the Church through a multiplicity of voluntary organisations in the period at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. Cox, for example, in his study of religious life in Lambeth, demonstrated the vibrancy of the Church at the local level and therefore the deficiency of previous accounts of church history. In contrast, Sarah Williams' account of popular religion in Southwark in the same period moves beyond the wall of the church and concentrates instead on popular religion in the home and family. Her research, derived from a study of folklore and oral history, examines the more

⁴⁸ J.C.D. Clark, 'Secularization and Modernization: the Failure of a 'Grand Narrative'', *Historical Journal*, 55 (2012), pp. 161-94.

⁴⁹ E.R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London: Lutterworth, 1957); K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963); Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914* (London: Longmans, 1976); R. Currie, A. Gilbert and L. Horsley, *Churches and Church-Goers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

⁵⁰ Cox, *The English Churches*; Mark Smith, *Religion in Industrial Society: Oldham and Saddleworth, 1740-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); S.J.D. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

‘elusive and amorphous aspects of religious culture’ and therefore accords a more central role to the religious practices and beliefs of working-class women.⁵¹ Callum Brown took a new approach both in terms of methodology and chronology. His two books *The Death of Christian Britain* (2000) and *Religion and the Demographic Revolution* (2012) are part of his planned trilogy on secularisation which will cover discourse, demography and testimony respectively.⁵² Both of Brown’s books have focused on female religiosity. The first book approaches secularisation through his notion of ‘discursive Christianity’, which is ‘the way in which Christianity infused public culture and was adopted by individuals, whether churchgoers or not, in forming their own identities’.⁵³ Brown argues that people subscribed to this Christian discourse until the 1960s and that Britain was until this point ‘a highly religious nation’.⁵⁴ In particular Brown identifies the 1960s as being the period ‘when women cancelled their mass subscription to the discursive domain of Christianity’.⁵⁵ His second book sets out to continue the secularisation narrative with a heavily statistical analysis of religious decline in the context of the demographic changes in the period after 1960. He argues that the demographic changes in this period revolutionized family structures and thereby perpetuated religious decline. Taking a different approach, Dominic Erdozain’s book *The Problem of Pleasure* (2010) is interesting because it returns to the idea that religious decline started in the late nineteenth century. Erdozain’s research has, through an investigation of sin, studied the ideological dimension of religion. Erdozain argues that, at the end of the nineteenth century,

⁵¹ Sarah Williams, ‘The Language of Belief: An Alternative Agenda for the Study of Victorian Working-Class Religion’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 1:2 (1996), p. 307 and p. 312.

⁵² Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (2000, London: Routledge, 2007 edition); Callum G. Brown, *Religion and the Demographic Revolution: Women and Secularisation in Canada, Ireland, UK and USA since the 1960s* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 2012). The planned third book on testimony is an analysis of the loss of faith as articulated in personal testimonies.

⁵³ Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, p. 8 and p. 12.

⁵⁴ Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, p. 30.

⁵⁵ Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, p. 195.

the 'internal concept of sin' was conceptually supplanted with the 'external concept of vice'.⁵⁶ Leisure time, it was thought, posed a danger to the individual because it was an opportunity for sin. Consequently, the churches increasingly marketed and provided sport as a safe activity to fill that leisure time. He argues that the churches were themselves an unwitting player in the 'secularisation of the Christian culture'.⁵⁷ These approaches have therefore analysed divergent aspects of religious life. Jeremy Morris comments that as the historiography has advanced, historians have extended 'their discussion of religion beyond the institutional parameters' as there has been a shift in 'in what historians are prepared to accept as religion'.⁵⁸

As explained, the historiography has considered secularisation through such themes as gender and class. This thesis will continue to develop these themes. This thesis will investigate the individual's financial relationship with religion and will thereby examine the upper- and middle-class inherited sense of duty to support the Church. Although the religiosity of the working-classes has been studied in great detail at parish levels in recent years, there is a need to illuminate secularisation theory with substantive accounts of the changing religiosity of the middle- and upper-classes.⁵⁹ This is because they were arguably the group funding religion in this period and any decline in their financial support would impact on the Church's ability to function. This thesis will investigate the individual's financial relationship with religion. This is a key aspect of Glock and Stark's 'consequential dimension' which has previously been largely unstudied; the behaviour of people as a consequence of their faith, in this case in the

⁵⁶ Dominic Erdozain, 'The Secularisation of Sin in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62:1 (2011), p. 59.

⁵⁷ Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), p. 7.

⁵⁸ Jeremy Morris, 'The Strange Death of Christian Britain: Another Look at the Secularization Debate', *Historical Journal*, 46:4 (2003), p. 967.

⁵⁹ See McLeod, *Class and Religion*; and Hugh McLeod, 'White Collar Values and the Role of Religion' in G.E. Crossick, *Lower Middle Class in Britain 1817-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1977).

form of financial support. In *Religion and the Demographic Revolution*, Brown suggests that secularisation before the 1960s was almost entirely a male phenomenon:

Until the sixties, the secularisation of which historians and sociologists speak was almost wholly male. If you look at the quotations cited as evidence of religious decline, the vast majority are to do with men ‘backsliding’ in their religious duties – ‘lapsing’ from churchgoing, ‘descending’ into immoral behaviour, and abstaining from proper conduct in the family. Though unremarked, social historians of religion are invariably speaking of secularisation before the 1960s as a male thing.⁶⁰

The findings of this thesis agree with Brown’s statement. It argues that the home-missionary organisations in this study lost the support of the wealthy Anglican businessman in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This decline in male support had a significant impact on the society’s finances because, as will be discussed in later chapters, men typically gave larger individual sums than women. Both McLeod and Erdozain have argued that religious decline arose from trends that originated in the late nineteenth century. McLeod argues that: ‘around 1880 is a significant turning-point in the history of middle- and upper-class attitudes, because it is about then that the “Victorian” façade of religious consensus began to crumble.’⁶¹ Simon Green also argues, in his recent book *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change, c. 1920-1960* (2010), that evidence of decline in the Church of England was apparent well before the 1960s, arguing that clear indications of decline can be discerned from the 1920s. Green argues that even though church membership levels remained stable in the period 1900 to 1950, it was ‘the underlying foundations of that membership, more still of those concerning the relationship of the membership to adherence and authority, that diminished so swiftly during these same years’.⁶² This study will consider the financial dimension of the ‘foundations of membership’ and will highlight a changing

⁶⁰ Brown, *Religion and the Demographic Revolution*, p. 265.

⁶¹ McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p. xi.

⁶² S.J.D Green, *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change, c. 1920-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 313. See Green’s other work which considers the laity’s financial relationship with the Church: Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 152-78.

financial relationship between the Anglican laity and its Church. In doing so, it will revisit this crucial earlier period of 1880 to 1910 identified by McLeod and Erdozain.

4. Structure of Thesis

This thesis is organised in three parts. Part 1 reviews the form of home-missionary work in the nineteenth century and the funding models which backed the different organisations. Chapter 2 explores the gradual development of home-missionary schemes in the first half of the nineteenth century and charts the funding changes in the period as a consequence of the cessation of state funding of church building. This approach is continued in Chapter 3 which describes the main features of the new home-missionary organisations established during Bishop Tait's episcopate in London. Part 2 is focused on analysing the funding of these organisations. Chapter 4 analyses the mechanism by which money was raised for the different organisations. Chapter 5 presents the overall results of the analysis of the data gathered from the subscription lists. It sets out the parameters of the financial analysis and subscription list analysis found in the Appendix. It then analyses the financial health of the voluntary organisations chosen for this study, by looking at income figures and analysing their funding streams and how they changed through the period. This chapter will also in turn analyse how the funder-base changed through the period by examining who the funders were and how the funder demographic changed within the period. It argues that at the end of the nineteenth century, there was an important shift in the gender-base of lay support. The subscription list analysis produced for these chapters is attached as an Appendix. Chapter 6 separately addresses the issue of financial contributions from corporate bodies. The final part, Part 3, sets the preceding discussion within the context of a theology of giving and the changing nature of the Victorian culture of philanthropy. Chapter 7 considers these findings within the context of the waning of the teaching of the doctrine of Christian stewardship after its mid-century

renaissance. It will highlight the increasing concern by clergy, at the end of the nineteenth century, that new generations of Christians were not being educated in stewardship and that, consequently, they were more likely to view money as being their own property rather than God's property. Finally, the Conclusion analyses how the philanthropic impulse to give to Anglican home-missionary organisations had changed within the period and argues that this was because the philanthropic impulse had declined. It will argue that the Church of England was an unwitting player in the secularisation of Christian culture through its reluctant acceptance, in the absence of the promotion of the ethic of Christian stewardship, of a new culture of secular modes of fundraising. In conjunction with this, the thesis will provide evidence that the Anglican home-missionary societies, in this study, lost the support of the wealthy businessman. In particular, it will argue these societies lost their financial security with a passing of a certain generation of wealthy philanthropic businessmen. It will also comment upon the failure a new generation of male philanthropists to fill this void. This finding builds upon the work of other historians concerned with the themes of gender and class in relation to the secularisation thesis.

Chapter 2 – Background to Church Extension in London, 1800-1856

1. Introduction

Anglican church extension in the first half of the nineteenth century has been well covered by scholars, with works concentrating on the bodies of the Church Building Commissioners, Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.¹ In particular the form of Bishop Blomfield's (Bishop of London between 1828 and 1856) church-extension activities in London has been covered in the work of P.J. Welch and B.I. Coleman.² The Diocese of London in this period has also received attention in local studies which have examined Bethnal Green and St Pancras.³ The first half of the nineteenth century saw a great many initiatives in Anglican church extension coupled with a significant change in how church extension was financed. In particular, this period saw the cessation of direct state funding. The purpose of this chapter is to reconsider the development of church-extension initiatives of this period (1800 to 1856) in London, specifically in terms of their funding models. This will set the context for an analysis of home-missionary organisations under Bishop Tait, the subject of Chapter 4. This chapter first charts the establishment and course of the national funding bodies for church building in the first half of the nineteenth century. This is necessary because the limited amount of funds available through these national bodies was, in part, responsible for

¹ M.H. Port, *Six Hundred New Churches: The Church Building Commission, 1818-1856* (Reading: Spire Books, 2006); Best, *Temporal Pillars*; Thompson, *Bureaucracy and Church Reform*.

² B.I. Coleman, 'Church Extension Movement in London c. 1800-1860', University of Cambridge, PhD thesis, 1968; P.J. Welch, 'Bishop Blomfield', University of London, PhD thesis, 1952; P.J. Welch, 'Bishop Blomfield and Church Extension in London', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 4 (1953), pp. 203-15; P.J. Welch, 'The Difficulties of Church Extension', *Church Quarterly Review* (July to September 1965), pp. 302-15. See also M.H. Port, 'Charles James Blomfield, Bishop of London, and Church Architecture and Ordering', in M. Barber, G. Sewell, Stephen Taylor (eds), *From the Reformation to the Permissive Society: A Miscellany in Celebration of the 400th Anniversary of Lambeth Palace Library*, Church of England Record Society Record Series 18 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010). In addition, Don Lewis' book *Lighten their Darkness: The Evangelical Mission to Working-class London, 1828-1860* (London; New York: Greenwood, 1986) studies the interdenominational London City Mission.

³ P.H.M. Cooper, 'The Church in St. Pancras, 1811-1868', University of London, PhD thesis, 1976; Arthur Burns, 'My Unfortunate Parish: Anglican Urban Ministry in Bethnal Green 1809- c.1850', in Barber et al, *From the Reformation to the Permissive Society*.

the development of localised diocesan church-extension schemes in this period. Then, second, it will examine the development of these schemes in the Diocese of London. Finally, this chapter will assess the success of the church-extension initiatives introduced by Bishop Blomfield.⁴

2. National Funding of Church Building (1818 to 1856)

The Church Building Commissioners and the Incorporated Church Building Society (1818)

At the start of the nineteenth century, the Church of England began to express its concerns regarding the rapidly growing populations in the cities and the lack of religious provision.⁵ The Church's approach to solving this problem in the cities was to take the traditional rural model as its ideal: this model was of a community of different classes being overseen by the incumbent and squire. The approach taken in London and other cities was to break the large overpopulated and unmanageable parishes into smaller, more suitably sized units; each unit was to be provided with a church and clergyman.⁶ The cry for more churches began at the turn of the century and accelerated through the first decade, culminating in a High Church campaign in 1815.⁷ This was led by the wealthy layman John Bowdler (1746-1823) and supported by 120 prominent laymen, including Sir Robert Harry Inglis (1786-1855) and the merchant William Cotton (1786-1866). The campaigners argued that it was Parliament's duty to fund this increase in church accommodation: 'Parliament alone can do it; and we conceive it to be one of its chief duties to provide places of worship for the members of the established

⁴ Many historians have described efforts, such as the Metropolis Churches Fund, as being a 'failure'. See Andrew Saint, 'Anglican Church-building in London, 1790-1890: From State Subsidy to the Free Market', in Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (eds), *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 35-36.

⁵ In 1801, the population of in England and Wales stood at nine million; by 1851 this figure had doubled to 18 million. John Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living* (1969, Aldershot: Gregg Revivals, 1993), p. 191. Michael Ball and David Sutherland, *An Economic History of London, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 44.

⁶ David E.H. Mole, 'The Victorian Town Parish: Rural Vision and Urban Mission', in *The Church in Town and Countryside*, Derek Baker (ed.), Studies in Church History 16 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), pp. 361-64.

⁷ Richard Allen Soloway, *Prelates and People: Ecclesiastical Social Thought in England, 1783-1852* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), pp. 286-88.

religion.⁸ This campaign coincided with the publication of Richard Yates' (1769-1834) pamphlet *The Church in Danger* (1815) which with an impressive use of statistics, argued for increased church accommodation in London.⁹

In 1818, Parliament granted £1,000,000 for church building in London and large provincial towns, in commemoration of the victory at Waterloo in 1815.¹⁰ A new body called the Church Building Commissioners (CBC) was appointed to superintend these funds, in addition to being given powers to propose schemes for the subdivision of parishes. In 1824, an additional £500,000 was granted by Parliament.¹¹ The first grant of £1,000,000 produced only 98 churches; consequently, the second grant of £500,000 marked the beginning of an era of economy and cheaper churches.¹² In conjunction with the establishment of the CBC, the year 1818 also saw the establishment of a national Church Building Society, which later, in 1828, was incorporated to become the Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS). The ICBS was established in order to collect voluntary donations from the Anglican laity nationally, and also to give aid to parishes that could not raise the partial funds needed to meet the criteria to receive grants from the CBC grant. In its first year the ICBS raised over £54,000 from voluntary subscriptions and donations.¹³ The ICBS committee was High Church and shared many members with the CBC, for example, the wine merchant Joshua Watson (1771-1855) and William Cotton. The initial success of the ICBS was shortlived and the society was in financial difficulty within ten years. This financial situation was mirrored in the accounts of

⁸ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 26.

⁹ Richard Yates, *The Church in Danger* (London: Rivington, 1815).

¹⁰ William Walsh, *Progress of the Church in London During the Last Fifty Years* (London: Rivingtons, 1887), p. 11; Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 9.

¹¹ Walsh, *Progress of the Church* (1887), pp. 12-13; Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 227.

¹² Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 231; pp. 325-47 lists the cost of each church and the amount of the grant given.

¹³ Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth Century and English Society* (1995, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, paperback edition 1998), p. 64.

the CBC which by the early 1830s had granted away virtually all of its capital.¹⁴ In summary, the 1810s saw the establishment of two parallel national bodies, both High Church in character, which funded church building: the CBC funded by two Parliamentary grants, and the ICBS funded by voluntary subscriptions and donations. By the late 1820s, however, both of these organisations had very little money remaining to give as grants.

The Emancipation of Catholics and Nonconformists: The Impact on the Funding of National Bodies (1828 to 1854)

The emancipation of Nonconformists and Roman Catholics in 1828 and 1829 gave birth to the voluntarist movement in the early 1830s. Voluntarism is the principle that all forms of association should be voluntary, and specifically that religion should not be supported by the state. From this point onwards, the Church of England experienced a reduction in the privileges granted to it, in parallel with an increase in the rights granted to people of other religious faiths. For example, the anti-establishment pressure from Nonconformist lobbyists secured the abolition of the compulsory aspect of the church rate in 1868.¹⁵ Despite these increased privileges to other denominations, the Church of England continued until the mid 1840s to hold the view that further state grants for Anglican church building were still a possibility. The 1830s and 1840s witnessed a period of great transformation in the Church of England which overhauled its administration through a long series of church reforms; these reforms were implemented by the Ecclesiastical Commission which was formed by Parliament in 1835. Blomfield was involved in the Ecclesiastical Commission from its outset.¹⁶ The permanent body of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners sprang from the earlier 1832

¹⁴ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 253.

¹⁵ Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism*, p. 2.

¹⁶ Arthur Burns, 'Blomfield, Charles James (1786–1857)', *ODNB*.

Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission which was formed to investigate Church finance.¹⁷ The series of reforms rationalised the administration of the Church through a reorganisation of the dioceses (through the redrawing of boundaries, amalgamation and creation of new dioceses) and through a review of existing Church of England resources; this financial rationalisation freed up capital from the cathedral establishments which the Church could then divert to needy parishes. Many in the Church held the view that if it was actively seen to be overhauling its administration and finances, Parliament would look on it more kindly when asked, in the future, for public money for church extension.¹⁸ The final major attempts to secure further Parliamentary funding for church extension came in the 1840s with Sir Robert Inglis' unsuccessful campaign for new Parliamentary funds between 1840 and 1842.¹⁹ This marked the definitive end of the campaign for Parliamentary funding of Anglican church extension.²⁰ The increased privileges secured by Catholics and Nonconformists in this period, ensured that state funding of Anglican church building was no longer a realistic option.²¹

Church Party Tensions: The Impact on the Funding of the ICBS (1828 to 1853)

In 1828, the income of the ICBS improved dramatically due to the introduction of the mechanism of the royal letter. This form of collecting funds was introduced as a replacement for the church brief. Church briefs were an official instruction directing collections to be made in churches or in the form of house-to-house collections. In 1828 they were abolished (9 Geo

¹⁷ Stewart J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 189.

¹⁸ Brown, *National Churches*, p. 235.

¹⁹ Brown, *National Churches*, pp. 235-36; *The Times* also mentions petitions from Nonconformists against the proposed grant for church extension: *The Times*, 30 June 1840, p. 6; Robert Harry Inglis, *Church Extension: Substance of a Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on Tuesday 30th June 1840* (London, 1840), pp. 49-50; pp. 324-25; p. 340.

²⁰ Occasionally individuals continued to raise the subject. In the wake of the publication of Mann's census report, in 1854, George William Finch-Hatton (1791-1858), tenth Earl of Winchelsea called for new state funds for church building. See Sir George Grey's speech in a debate on church extension. Hansard, Commons Debates, fifth series, vol. 118, cc. 30-102: 01 July 1851. Londinensis [Pseudonymous work by William Rivington], *Our Church Extension Societies, General and Diocesan* (London: Harrison, 1855) p. 3.

²¹ This is discussed further in Chapter 6 which examines grants made by the Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues (the state body which managed the Crown Estate) to the LDCBS and BLF.

IV c. 42) because of abuses of the scheme, and because of the smallness of the sums collected. At the instigation of the High Churchmen Joshua Watson and Christopher Wordsworth (1774-1846), the church brief was replaced by the royal letter.²² Only three charities (all High Church in character) were officially granted the right to collect monies under the terms of a royal letter; these were the ICBS, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the National Society.²³ The practice was to collect for each of these charities in succession every three years. For example, the *British Magazine* reported in 1832 that the ICBS raised £41,000 in 1830 and the SPG £35,000 in 1831 from this method.²⁴ In the period between 1828 and 1851, £258,009 was collected through the royal letter mechanism for the ICBS.²⁵

This period of increased income for the ICBS only lasted for 25 years; in 1853 the mechanism of the royal letter was abolished by the government on the grounds that it made too close a link between Church and Crown. In 1853, on the advice of Henry John Temple (1784-1865), third Viscount Palmerston, then Home Secretary, the three societies which had licence to collect monies from this mechanism were given notice that the scheme would no longer be recommended.²⁶ A petition was sent in reply to Lord Palmerston from Bishop Blomfield, John Bird Sumner (Archbishop of Canterbury) and the committee of the ICBS; this petition cited past precedents of Parliamentary and Crown cooperation in funding religious provision. The petition was rejected by Sir George Grey (1799-1882), the new Home Secretary in 1855.²⁷ The High Church newspaper the *Guardian* in 1855 condemned the abolition as ‘an unmixed evil’, squarely laying the blame on Lord Palmerston, with Lord Shaftesbury ‘at his elbow’.

²² Edward Churton, *Memoir of Joshua Watson* (Oxford; London: J.H. and J. Parker, 1861), pp. 191-92 and p. 297.

²³ Wyndham Antis Bewes, *Church Briefs or Royal Warrants for Collections for Charitable Objects* (London: Black, 1896), p. 1 and pp. 45-46; Cornelius Walford, ‘Kings’ Briefs: Their Purposes and History’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (1882), p. 1.

²⁴ ‘Church Briefs and King’s Letters’, *British Magazine*, October 1832, pp. 164-65.

²⁵ Bewes, *Church Briefs*, p. 1 and pp. 45-46.

²⁶ ICBS, *Refusal of Royal Letters to the Church Building Society* (London, 1855), p. 4.

²⁷ ICBS, *Refusal of Royal Letters*, pp. 5-11.

Palmerston had called the practice of royal letters ‘objectionable’.²⁸ The practice of royal letters had been condemned by the Protestant Alliance, an evangelical interdenominational Anti-Catholic political pressure group of which Shaftesbury was President. The Alliance condemned royal letters because they solely favoured High Church societies.²⁹ A circular produced by the Protestant Alliance stated that the withdrawal of royal letters had been ‘hailed by many as timely relief and a cause for thankfulness; for the royal letters had long been regarded with dislike, as favouring certain societies to the exclusion of others.’ The circular then went on to express the Alliance’s disapproval in respect of the issue of episcopal letters requesting clergy to advocate the cause of particular societies, such as the SPG. Henry Phillpotts (1778-1869), the High Church Bishop of Exeter, spoke out against the Protestant Alliance at a SPG meeting in 1856. He argued that the Protestant Alliance’s circular ‘was an indication of which way the wind blows, for these straws... show how strong the anti-church spirit prevails among a large and powerful body’.³⁰ This development highlights how growing party tensions in the 1850s impacted on the state sanctioned funding of the ICBS. As a consequence, by the 1850s both the CBC and ICBS had very limited funds at their disposal.

A New National Church-extension Funding Body: The Church Extension Fund (1851)

In 1851, the outcry in response to the ‘Papal Aggression’ of late 1850 gave birth to a short-lived national funding body called the Church Extension Fund. The phrase ‘Papal Aggression’ was the term, coined by *The Times* newspaper, given to the Papal Bull of 1850 which reinstituted the Catholic hierarchy with the creation of twelve Catholic dioceses with corresponding bishops.³¹ In January 1851, a new national organisation called the Church

²⁸ *Guardian*, 16 October 1855, p. 377; 24 October 1855, p. 789.

²⁹ *The Times*, 22 September 1856, p. 7; *Guardian*, 16 October 1855, p. 377.

³⁰ *Daily News*, 23 September 1856, p. 2.

³¹ Walter Ralls, ‘The Papal Aggression of 1850: A Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism’, *Church History*, 43 (1974), p. 243. The Protestant Alliance was established as a consequence of the Papal Aggression.

Extension Fund was established with a mixed High Church and Evangelical committee who were united against the 'Papal Aggression' in their campaign of church extension. The committee included several Bishops, such as: the Evangelical Charles Sumner (1790-1874), Bishop of Winchester; the High Churchman John Lonsdale (1788-1867), Bishop of Lichfield; and the High Churchman Charles Longley (1794-1868), Bishop of Ripon. It chiefly, however, consisted of the main players in London church extension from the 1840s and 1850s.³² The meetings of the society were chaired by Bishop Blomfield and the society operated from the same address as the office of the Metropolis Churches Fund (MCF); this later became the office address of the London Diocesan Church Building Society (LDCBS) and London Diocesan Home Mission (LDHM). Although based in London, and expecting to raise most of its money through London, the aim of the society was to fund church extension nationally. Its purpose was to galvanise the funding of church extension and to act as a central channel for funding. It therefore accepted general contributions or those for existing diocesan church-building societies.³³ Funds would then be given out generally in grants or would be redirected to a particular diocesan organisation, as specified by the donor. The launch appeal of the Church Extension Fund, in *The Times* in April 1851, opened with the words:

Much has been heard of late respecting Papal Aggression. The Protestant spirit of Englishmen has been roused from one end of the country to the other; and so far as public feeling can be collected from meetings and manifestoes, the nation has declared itself unequivocally against the arrogant pretensions of the Church of Rome, and its unscriptural and pernicious doctrines.³⁴

The appeal stated that the intention of the Fund was that it would run for a limited time. This is confirmed by the society's minute book which record regular meetings until March 1852 and

³² The committee included: Bishop Blomfield; William Cotton; Sir Robert Harry Inglis; Lord Robert Grosvenor, first Baron Ebury (1801-1893); Anthony Ashley Cooper, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury; Philip Cazenove (1798-1880); Henry Robert Kingscote (1802-1882); George William Lyttelton, fourth Baron Lyttelton (1817-1876); Sir Walter Rocliffe Farquhar (1810-1900); the Reverend John Hampden Gurney (1802-1862); the Reverend Richard Burgess (1796-1881); and Archdeacon John Sinclair (1797-1875). *The Times*, 8 April 1851, p. 2.

³³ LMA Ms. uncatalogued item, Church Extension Fund, Minute Book, 1851-56, 6 March 1851.

³⁴ *The Times*, 8 April 1851, p. 2. See also John Sinclair, *Church Difficulties of 1851: A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, at the Visitations held at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, on the 12th and 13th of May, 1851* (London, 1851) p. 39.

then just occasional meetings until March 1856. The society's letter book also records that by January 1852 the society's funds were exhausted.³⁵ The Fund raised just over £65,000 in its first year; most of this amount (£61,000) was earmarked to be applied to localities specified by the donors.³⁶ The Church Extension Fund therefore can be better characterised as being a short-lived emergency scheme which stimulated church extension nationally. This temporary nature of the Church Extension Fund combined with the declining funds of the CBC and ICBS, highlights the fact that by the 1850s church extension was being funded almost entirely by diocesan societies rather than national societies.

3. The Development of Diocesan Church Extension: Diocesan Funding (1828 to 1856)

Metropolis Churches Fund (1836) and Bethnal Green Churches Fund (1839)

In the 1820s, diocesan church-extension organisations began to be established in order to supplement and eventually replace the work of these national church-building organisations. Such organisations became more commonplace in the 1830s. The most influential precedent for urban church extension was the initiative established by Thomas Chalmers' (1780-1847), Church of Scotland minister, in St John's parish in Glasgow in 1819.³⁷ Chalmers wanted to create in city parishes of Glasgow the sense of community that he had experienced in rural Fife. The key to this scheme was the subdivision of the parish into smaller more manageable units, each unit being supplied with district visitors and parish schools.³⁸

In 1835, the publication of Baptist Wriothsley Noel's (1799-1873) pamphlet, entitled *The State of the Metropolis Considered*, started the process that led to the establishment of a

³⁵ LMA Ms. uncatalogued item, Church Extension Fund, Letter Book, 1851-63, letter dated 2 January 1852.

³⁶ LMA Ms. uncatalogued item, Church Extension Fund, Minute Book, 1851-56, 24 March 1852.

³⁷ Brown, *National Churches*, p. 208; Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England, c. 1800-1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 116.

³⁸ Stewart J. Brown, 'Chalmers, Thomas (1780-1847)', *ODNB*.

diocesan church-extension scheme in London in the following year. This pamphlet outlined the extent of spiritual destitution in London. Noel, a Church of England clergyman and later Baptist minister, argued that the government needed to give a far larger sum than previously given in order to fund this church extension.³⁹ In addition, he argued that new methods, such as open-air preaching, were necessary to overcome the extent of the destitution.⁴⁰ In the same year, the Reverend Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882) wrote an article for the *British Magazine* entitled 'Churches in London: Past and Present Exertions of the Church and her Present Needs'.⁴¹ Pusey's paper sought to remind individuals of their Christian duty to financially support the Church. Shortly afterwards, in early 1836, Blomfield set out his proposal for the creation of a church-extension scheme for the metropolis to be known as the Metropolis Churches Fund (MCF), in the pamphlet *Proposals for Creation of a Fund*. Its aim would be 'to divide the moral wilderness of this vast city into manageable districts, each with its place of worship, its schools, and its local institutions'.⁴² Blomfield's proposal highlighted the 'liberal assistance of the Christian public' which had supported comparable schemes for church extension in Glasgow and Manchester.⁴³ Following the standard of church accommodation set out in the second report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which aimed to provide church accommodation for one-third of the population, Blomfield calculated that there was a deficiency of 279 churches, his standard being one church and minister for every

³⁹ Baptist Noel, *The State of the Metropolis Considered: A Letter to... Bishop of London* (London: James Nisbet, 1835), pp. 34-35.

⁴⁰ Noel, *State of the Metropolis Considered*, pp. 51-52.

⁴¹ Edward Bouverie Pusey, *Churches in London: Past and Present Exertions of the Church and Present Needs, with an Appendix containing Answers to Objections raised by the "Record" and others to the Plan of the Metropolis Churches' Fund* (London: Baxter, 1837); Henry Parry Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, 2 vols. (London, Longmans Green, 1893), Vol. 1, p. 327.

⁴² Charles James Blomfield, *Proposals for the Creation of a Fund to be Applied to the Building and Endowment of Additional Churches in the Metropolis* (London: B. Fellowes, 1836), pp. 8-9

⁴³ Blomfield, *Proposals for the Creation of a fund*, p. 9. Chalmers' scheme in Glasgow was established in 1819; Chester Diocesan Church Building Society was established in 1834. Burns, *The Diocesan Revival*, p. 116.

3,000 persons.⁴⁴ The aim of the MCF was to erect fifty new churches at an estimated cost of £250,000.⁴⁵ By 1835 Blomfield was doubtful that any more money would be forthcoming in the way of further Government grants. He initially suggested that the work proposed in this pamphlet could be funded by a 2d a ton duty on coal, but this suggestion was rejected.⁴⁶ Instead, the MCF was to be entirely funded by contributions from the Anglican laity.

Blomfield held a meeting for all people interested in his new scheme and from this meeting the committee was formed.⁴⁷ The committee of the MCF was of mixed Church party; including prominent High Church laymen such as Joshua Watson and William Cotton (both of whom had been actively involved in the ICBS). It also included prominent Evangelical members such as the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley Cooper (1801-1885) and Baptist Wriothsley Noel.⁴⁸ The appeal particularly targeted 'owners of large property in the metropolis', 'great companies and commercial establishments' and 'merchants, bankers and opulent tradesmen'.⁴⁹ The Fund was very successful in its first year. The statement of income and expenditure in the *First MCF Annual Report* recorded that by June 1837 £117,423 had been subscribed.⁵⁰ Accumulated contributions including promised subscriptions, in this fourth annual report, totalled £149,439.⁵¹ In March 1839, a new off-shoot appeal, entitled the Bethnal Green Churches and Schools Fund (BGCF), was launched with the aim of creating ten

⁴⁴ Blomfield, *Proposals for the Creation of a fund*, p. 5; 1836 (86) *From His Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Consider the State of the Established Church with Reference to Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues. With a Synopsis of Both Reports*, p. 6.

⁴⁵ This echoed the scheme introduced by act of parliament in 1711, to build fifty new churches in the reign of Queen Anne. Inglis, *Church Extension*, p. 44.

⁴⁶ Alfred Blomfield (ed.), *A Memoir of C.J. Blomfield, Bishop of London, with Selections from his Correspondence*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1863), Vol. 1, p. 235; Soloway, *Prelates and People*, p. 313; Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 255. This was a traditional method for raising money for church building but was rejected on the grounds that it was a heavy burden for the poor; this method of funding church building had been used previously in the reigns of Charles II and Queen Anne. Walsh, *Progress of the Church* (1887), p. 9.

⁴⁷ Blomfield, *A Memoir of C.J. Blomfield*, Vol. 1, p. 236.

⁴⁸ Example of another High Church member: the barrister John Duke Coleridge, first Baron Coleridge (1820-1894). Example of another Evangelical member: Sir Robert Harry Inglis (1786-1855).

⁴⁹ Blomfield, *A Memoir of C.J. Blomfield*, Vol. 1, p. 237.

⁵⁰ *First MCF Annual Report*, p. 9.

⁵¹ *Fourth MCF Annual Report*, p. 16.

additional districts within the parish of Bethnal Green.⁵² The plan was that these new districts would be supplied with ten newly built and endowed churches, complete with parsonages and schools. The estimated cost of this project was £75,000. This object was achieved when the tenth church was consecrated in July 1850.⁵³ The *Final Report of the MCF* (1854) summed up the achievements of the MCF and BGCF and showed that the two organisations had surpassed the objective of erecting 50 churches at a cost of £250,000. During the eighteen years of the Fund, £266,000 had been raised: this figure included all monies raised by the offshoot BGCF. The report estimated that, with the additional sums elicited from local sources, a grand total of more than £536,000 had been raised. In total, 78 churches had been built, with an additional seven churches through the generosity of individual benefactors. Church sittings had been increased by 106,000, 146 additional clergymen had been employed in the new districts, and new schools had been established for over 20,000 children.⁵⁴ Blomfield's scheme had therefore surpassed its target and established a model for future church extension in London.

Other Localised Church-extension Schemes (1840s)

The 1840s also saw the flowering of various other local efforts of church extension in London. In 1842, the St Pancras Church Building Fund was established by the wealthy High Church printer William Rivington (1807-1888). The Rivington family owned the well-established printing company of the same name, and became closely associated with publishing for the Tractarians.⁵⁵ The St Pancras Church Building Fund was invigorated in 1846, when the Evangelical Reverend Thomas Dale (1797-1870) was appointed incumbent of St Pancras. In addition, the Westminster Spiritual Aid Fund was established in 1846 by the High Church Archdeacon Christopher Wordsworth (1807-1885). It provided additional clergy and schools

⁵² See Burns, 'My Unfortunate Parish'.

⁵³ *Bethnal Green Churches and Schools Fund* (London: Clowes, 1854), p. 21, p. 42, p. 45.

⁵⁴ *Final Report of the MCF*, p. 5.

⁵⁵ Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick, 'Rivington family (per. c.1710–c.1960)', *ODNB*.

in the Westminster parishes of St Margaret and St John.⁵⁶ These local societies were aided with the simplification of district formation through the passage of Peel's New Parishes Act of 1843 (6 and 7 Vict. c. 37). This act made possible the constitution of new districts, out of any part of a parish or parts of parishes, before the building of a church.⁵⁷ Once a new church had been provided for the new district, it would become a separate parish for ecclesiastical purposes.⁵⁸ Previously, the procedure to create a new parish had been the 'expensive and troublesome machinery of special acts of parliament'.⁵⁹ This new act, therefore, not only simplified the process but it eradicated the need of a costly act.⁶⁰ The endowment for these new districts was provided by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

New Approaches: Additional Clergy, Lay Agency, Temporary Churches and Open-Air Preaching (1828 to 1854)

Other new initiatives that took place in this period in London were the introduction of temporary churches and increased use of additional clergy and lay agency.⁶¹ Blomfield began to condone the occasional use of lay agency and unconsecrated rooms in the 1830s.⁶² The 1830s saw the formation of voluntary organisations established with the aim of supporting the clergy in their work. First, in 1828, the District Visiting Society was established and controlled by Evangelical laymen. It was similar in character to the Nonconformist London Christian Instruction Society (CIS) established in 1825.⁶³ Secondly, in 1835 the evangelical interdenominational LCM was formed by David Nasmith (1799-1839), who had previously established the Glasgow City Mission in 1826. B.I. Coleman argues that Baptist Noel's

⁵⁶ Walsh, *Progress of the Church* (1887), p. 25.

⁵⁷ Burns, 'My Unfortunate Parish', p. 287.

⁵⁸ *Third LDCBS Annual Report*, pp. 26-27.

⁵⁹ Mole, 'The Victorian Town Parish', p. 363.

⁶⁰ Port, *Six Hundred New Churches*, p. 23.

⁶¹ Lay agency is the term used to describe church workers who are not ordained.

⁶² Soloway, *Prelates and People*, pp. 322-23 and p. 340.

⁶³ Lewis, *Lighten Their Darkness*, pp. 36-38.

pamphlet was partly responsible for the formation of the LCM.⁶⁴ In response to the establishment of the LCM, in 1835, a group of London Evangelicals offered to raise £150,000 for church extension if Blomfield formed a diocesan society modelled on the organisation formed in Chester in the previous year.⁶⁵ Blomfield, however, declined the offer and encouraged the group of Evangelicals to found, in February 1836, the Church Pastoral Aid Society (CPAS) whose object was to provide funds to support additional clergy in populous districts, and to encourage the use of laymen as non-ministerial helpers to the clergy. In 1837 High Church members broke away from the CPAS to form the Additional Curates Society (ACS); this was because they opposed the use of laymen. The ACS consequently only endorsed the employment of ordained curates.⁶⁶ In 1842 the City of London's Young Men's Society for Aiding Missions at Home and Abroad was formed by a group of Evangelical clergy who wanted a group for young men involved in their Sunday School. It became the Church of England Young Men's Society in the 1850s and by this time had become national in its scope.⁶⁷ And in 1844 the Scripture Readers' Association (SRA) was formed in response to the activities of the LCM. Towards the end of 1843, the LCM proposed to concentrate their efforts by appointing twenty missionaries to the Bethnal Green district; this initiative was backed financially by the wealthy Evangelical Anglican brewer Robert Hanbury (1796-1884).⁶⁸ Blomfield joined with Charles Sumner, the Evangelical Bishop of Winchester, to become joint patron of the SRA. Its work was confined to the Dioceses of London and Winchester. Finally, the 1840s also saw the innovation of the use of temporary churches. The first use of these was in 1841, a large wooden structure was built to accommodate the needs of

⁶⁴ Coleman, 'Church Extension Movement', p. 118.

⁶⁵ Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, Vol. 1, p. 329.

⁶⁶ Brown, *National Churches*, p. 211.

⁶⁷ Lewis, *Lighten Their Darkness*, pp. 112-13.

⁶⁸ Lewis, *Lighten Their Darkness*, pp. 110-11. For SRA work in Bethnal Green, see *Third SRA Annual Report*, p. 25.

an expanding congregation of the Episcopal Chapel at Kentish Town.⁶⁹ This temporary building acted as a model for many wooden and iron buildings that followed.⁷⁰ This innovation was low in cost and could be quickly erected in a new area; these both great advantages to the slow and costly procedure of church-building.⁷¹ In summary, the 1830s and 1840s saw various forms of home-missionary work being employed to address the problem of the ‘spiritual destitution’ of the masses. In addition to the development of both localised and diocesan church-extension societies, new societies were established (in both High Church and Evangelical form) which provided additional curates to over populated parishes and which advocated the use of lay agency.

These new methods were also advocated in Horace Mann’s report on the 1851 Religious Census.⁷² Mann stated that the Church needed to launch an ‘aggressive’ missionary campaign in order to tackle ‘the terrible emergency’.⁷³ He argued that the Church of England should look to Nonconformist successes with the working-classes for ideas and recommended the use of licensed rooms initially, with churches being built once the congregations had been formed.⁷⁴ Above all, Mann implored the Church to employ aggressive measures, advocating street preaching and the employment of additional lay agents. In the following year of 1855, Shaftesbury’s Religious Worship Bill was passed, which made it legal to hold a religious

⁶⁹ Walsh, *Progress of the Church in London* (1887), pp. 24-25.

⁷⁰ *Illustrated London News*, 7 September 1844, p. 156.

⁷¹ The later London diocesan societies (the LDCBS and BLF) both gave grants for the erection of temporary churches.

⁷² The census had been commissioned in order to obtain figures regarding the provision of church accommodation for public worship. The report stated that a large percentage of the population did not attend church on Census Sunday; even allowing for the non-attendance of the young, the sick and elderly, and those that lived in isolated rural areas. Coleman’s reworking of the census statistics calculates that 60.8 per cent of the population of England and Wales attended worship on the census day; and roughly half (48.6 per cent) of these worshippers attended worship in Anglican facilities. In London, only 37 per cent of the population attended worship on the census day; and again roughly half (56.6 per cent) attended in Anglican facilities. B.I. Coleman, *The Church of England in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography* (London: Historical Association, 1980), p. 7 and p. 41.

⁷³ 1852-53 (1690) *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship in England and Wales*, PP, LXXXIX, p. clxii.

⁷⁴ *Census of Great Britain, 1851*, p. clxii.

meeting in an unlicensed place. In the early 1850s the practice of open-air preaching began to be more widely discussed and acceptable amongst interdenominational groups. In 1854 the LCM introduced open-air preaching as a direct result of Horace Mann's endorsement of street preaching in the Census Report which they felt had made the practice more publicly acceptable.⁷⁵ In addition in 1853, the Evangelical lawyer and traveller, John MacGregor (1825-1892) founded the interdenominational Open Air Mission; another prominent committee member was the Recordite lawyer Alexander Haldane (1800-1882).⁷⁶ Its principal objects were to 'encourage, regulate, and improve open-air preaching' and it was funded entirely by donations and subscriptions.⁷⁷ The *Second Open-Air Mission Annual Report* (1855) described the flowering of open-air preaching in London. It reported that, the LCM had removed its restriction on open-air preaching; that the Archbishop of Canterbury had approved its use; that the Bishop of Winchester had advocated its use in his last visitation charge; that the Bishop of London had sanctioned the work of the Islington Church Home Mission (ICHM); and that the CIS were holding Tent Meetings in the suburbs.⁷⁸

In November 1854, the Reverend Daniel Wilson junior (1805-1886) formed the innovative Islington Church Home Mission (ICHM) in the Evangelical parish of Islington.⁷⁹ Wilson was Vicar of Islington and President of the Islington Association of the CMS. The objects of the ICHM were to promote the sub-division of large overgrown districts; to supply additional clergy and lay agents; to establish schools; to supply more school room services and cottage lectures; and to employ methods such as open-air preaching.⁸⁰ The missionaries of the ICHM

⁷⁵ Lewis, *Lighten their Darkness*, p. 225; *Census of Great Britain 1851*, p. clxii.

⁷⁶ Lewis, *Lighten their Darkness*, p. 225; *LCM Magazine*, June 1854, p. 107. MacGregor was also the Honorary Secretary of the Protestant Alliance.

⁷⁷ Alan J. Greenbank, *'This is the Lord's Doing!': An Account of 150 years of Open-air Evangelism through the Work of the Open Air Mission 1853-2003* (London: Open Air Mission, 2003), p. 7.

⁷⁸ *Second Open-Air Mission Annual Report*, pp. 5-6.

⁷⁹ *Second Open-Air Mission Annual Report*, p. 11.

⁸⁰ *Sixth ICHM Annual Report*, p. 5.

were assisted in open-air preaching by students from the CMS College in Islington.⁸¹ An article in the *Christian Observer* in December 1856 remarked that the ICHM was the only Church of England society that was employing open-air preaching as a missionary approach.⁸² Blomfield in his final charge of 1854, written before the practice of open-air preaching had been legalised, said that he would not forbid its practice, but that he doubted 'whether it will succeed to any considerable extent, and whether it has any important advantage over the plan of preaching in school-rooms or other convenient buildings'.⁸³ In the following year, however, Blomfield expressed his approved of the work of the ICHM in a letter to the Reverend C.F. Childe (Principal of the CMS College in Islington), and sent a donation.⁸⁴ This development in the use of open-air preaching highlights the growing use of new missionary techniques in the 1850s. This development supplemented the work of the portfolio of High Church and Evangelical agencies which provided lay help and additional curates to assist parish clergy, and the localised and diocesan church-extension schemes.

The Reconstitution of the MCF as the LDCBS (1854)

In 1854, Blomfield reconstituted and relaunched the MCF under the new name of the London Diocesan Church Building Society (LDCBS).⁸⁵ The impetus for this had come from two sources: the reawakening of the MCF in consequence of the establishment of the Church Extension Fund in 1851; and the publication of a pamphlet in 1853 by William Rivington, the

⁸¹ *Sixth ICHM Annual Report*, pp. 29-33.

⁸² *Christian Observer*, December 1856, p. 840.

⁸³ Blomfield, *A Memoir of C J Blomfield*, Vol. 2, p. 165; Charles James Blomfield, *Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, at the Visitation in November MDCCCLIV* (London: B. Fellowes, 1854), p. 44.

⁸⁴ *Christian Observer*, December 1856, p. 841; LPL Ms. FP Blomfield 62 f. 286-87, leaflet on ICHM, dated January 1855.

⁸⁵ The MCF continued to exist as dormant body within the LDCBS until both societies were formally closed in 1925. The reason for the continued existence of the MCF was the possibility of the society receiving a large legacy. See File LMA Ms. DL/A/H/052/04/001-002 and DL/A/H/054/04/007.

wealthy printer who had established the St Pancras Church Building Fund.⁸⁶ By 1853, the traditional sources of funding church-extension activities in London had dried up. The funds of the CBC were exhausted and the income of the MCF was inconsequential. In addition, the ICBS's financial situation was now seriously limited by the recent abolition of royal letters. Rivington hoped that by publicising the neglect of the MCF he could rally new support and bring about its revival.⁸⁷ Instead, in May 1854 a new society, the LDCBS, was instituted as a permanent institution to replace the temporary MCF.⁸⁸ There was a degree of continuity from the earlier committee of the MCF with members such as William Cotton, John Duke Coleridge, William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), and Anthony Ashley Cooper (seventh Earl of Shaftesbury) all continuing on as LDCBS committee members. The LDCBS objects initially were to build and endow new churches and to supply these churches with parsonages. Under Tait, it expanded its objects to include the use of missionaries and multi-purpose buildings, such as school-churches.

The launch of this new endeavour in 1854 was well-timed, coinciding with both the publication of Horace Mann's report and Blomfield's 1854 charge.⁸⁹ Despite this, the launch was unsuccessful and failed to gain a high level of financial support from the Anglican community. Receipts in the first year were disappointing: income for the year 1854/55 was only £4,302. There are three factors that may have caused this lacklustre relaunch. Firstly, part of its failure may have been in its name which implied that it was just a church-building society.⁹⁰ Secondly, Blomfield was increasingly frail at the end of his episcopacy. In

⁸⁶ *Church Extension in the Diocese of London: Remarks on the Present State of the Metropolis Churches' Fund, by a Layman* (London: Rivingtons, 1853).

⁸⁷ *Church Extension in the Diocese of London*, p. 11 and p. 20.

⁸⁸ *Church Work among the Masses*, Old Series, No. III (April 1862), pp. 28-29.

⁸⁹ Blomfield, *Charge 1854*, p. 32.

⁹⁰ In 1860 Tait's appeal attempted to dispel this perception, saying that it should be thought of as a 'parochial extension society' rather than a church building society. Archibald Campbell Tait, *From the Bishop of London to the Laity of the Diocese: Claims of the London Diocesan Church Building Society* (London: Brettell, 1860), p. 3.

December 1855, the LDCBS published a *Special Appeal to the Landowners*: Blomfield was unable to personally launch the appeal because of illness.⁹¹ Thirdly, the LDCBS suggested that the public had been disappointed in the speed of results from the earlier church-extension work; this disappointment had resulted in widespread ‘general apathy on the subject of church extension’.⁹² The quarterly magazine of the LDCBS, *Church Work among the Masses*, observed in 1862 that: ‘People expected some immediate and visible effects to follow from so great a movement. They had yet to learn that the benefits of Church Extension, carried out in localities previously neglected, can be only gradually realised.’⁹³ In conclusion, at the end of Blomfield’s episcopacy the only diocesan organisation in London to co-ordinate church-extension efforts was the LDCBS, and this was struggling financially from lack of support.

4. Conclusion

The period 1800 to 1856 witnessed the gradual development of a model for urban home mission. Within this period there was a shift both in the form of church extension and the method of funding church-extension work. As the period progressed the form of mission gradually moved from being simply church-centred in the 1810s, to being an ensemble of church building, missionary clergymen and the use of lay agency by the 1850s. In addition, the period also experienced a move from voluntary organisations, characterised by a single party committee, to more collaborative work in the form of mixed Church party organisations in the form of the MCF, BGCF, Church Extension Fund and LDCBS; this was to form the standard model of diocesan organisation under Bishop Tait.

⁹¹ Arthur Burns, ‘Blomfield, Charles James (1786–1857)’, *ODNB*; Blomfield, *Memoir of C J Blomfield*, Vol. 2, pp. 235–39. LDCBS, *Special Appeal to the Landowners and Others Interested in the Welfare of the Metropolis* (London, 1855).

⁹² *Church Work among the Masses*, Old Series, No. IV (July 1862), p. 39.

⁹³ *Church Work among the Masses*, Old Series, No. IV (July 1862), p. 39. This magazine ran from May 1861 to August 1865.

The church-centred model of church extension had been criticised in the 1840s and 1850s as being a costly and ineffective method of church extension, with criticism being aimed at both the national church building bodies and Blomfield's church-extension scheme in London.⁹⁴ These criticisms against Blomfield were still being repeated nearly a century later, for example in Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram's (Bishop of London from 1901 to 1939) autobiography published in 1940.⁹⁵ It was not until the mid twentieth century that modern historians brought about a 'gradual rehabilitation of Blomfield's historical reputation'.⁹⁶ These reassessments of Blomfield's schemes recognised that the scheme in Bethnal Green was one of the earliest city church-extension projects and did involve more than simple church planting; it also included the provision of church schools and parsonages. Experience had shown these early church-extensionists that the erection of a church needed to be part of a co-ordinated approach. Blomfield, himself, recognised that it was 'not enough to build a church' for 'the profane, the careless' and 'the miserably poor'; the poor needed a more hands on and direct approach.⁹⁷ Blomfield's son, Arthur William Blomfield (1829-1899), speaking of his father late in his episcopacy, said that 'he had become increasingly alive to the fact that in the work of church extension, the men are even more necessary than the buildings'.⁹⁸ During Blomfield's episcopacy, church extension in London had developed to encompass the use of new forms of home mission: church building (in the form of temporary churches), the use of missionary clergymen and scripture-readers, and the advent of open-air preaching. In conjunction with the changing form of church extension within the period the basis of the funding of church extension also changed. The cessation of Parliamentary funding of church building and the abolition of royal letters meant that church-extension activities in future would be reliant upon

⁹⁴ Hansard, *Lords Debates*, vol. 133, cc. 149-64:11 May 1854; Blomfield, *A Memoir of C J Blomfield*, Vol. 2, pp. 282-83.

⁹⁵ A.F. Winnington-Ingram, *Fifty Years Work in London 1889-1939* (London: Longman Green), p. 2

⁹⁶ Burns, 'My Unfortunate Parish', p. 285; Burns, 'Blomfield, Charles James (1786-1857)', *ODNB*.

⁹⁷ Blomfield, *A Memoir of C J Blomfield*, Vol. 2, p. 167; *Third LDCBS Annual Report*, pp. 14-15.

⁹⁸ Blomfield, *A Memoir of C J Blomfield*, Vol. 2, p. 167.

the generosity of the Anglican laity, with supplemental money from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for endowment.

Blomfield's episcopacy witnessed the building and consecration of around 110 new churches and the establishment of a wide range of Anglican national, diocesan and local home missionary organisations.⁹⁹ However, despite the extensive efforts of Blomfield to extend religious provision in London, his efforts had not kept pace with the rapidly expanding population. The *Final Report of the Metropolis Churches Fund* in 1854 concluded that, 'it is manifest that the increase of Church accommodation during these eighteen years has scarcely kept pace with the increase of population. The original evil remains in almost all its intensity'.¹⁰⁰ In November 1856 the mantle was passed to Archibald Campbell Tait as the new Bishop of London. The next chapter examines the development of church extension under Tait's charge; subsequent chapters then examine how, in the absence of direct state funding for church-extension work, these new home-missionary organisations were financed.

⁹⁹ Walsh, *Progress of the Church* (1887), pp. 77-87.

¹⁰⁰ *Final Report of the MCF*, p. 8.

Chapter 3 - New Home-missionary Organisation Established in Connection with Tait's Episcopacy, 1856 to 1868

1. Introduction

Bishop Blomfield had pioneered during his episcopacy a new model of church extension in London; under Bishop Tait this model was to be extended through the creation of a greater range of diocesan organisations. Archibald Campbell Tait was consecrated Bishop of London in November 1856, at a time when the issue of the mission of the Church of England to the working-classes was firmly on the agenda. Horace Mann's report on the 1851 Religious Census had been published in 1854; open-air preaching was still in its early stages; in Islington the innovative ICHM had been formed only two years earlier; and the MCF had recently been reconstituted as the LDCBS. In addition, Tait actively supported evangelical interdenominational organisations, and personally employed evangelical methods of preaching.¹ Three factors, then, came together to reinvigorate home-missionary techniques in the mid 1850s in London. These were: the installation of a younger and healthier man in his forties as Bishop of London; the employment of the new home-missionary techniques in London; and Tait's willingness to embrace these new techniques. The period of this study, 1856 to 1914, has not received the same degree of attention as Blomfield's episcopacy. The only study of Tait's episcopate is Michael Peel's thesis 'The London Episcopate of Archibald Campbell Tait, 1856-1868', (1988). This thesis is a straightforward biography of Tait during his episcopate and includes descriptions of his new home-missionary organisations. It does not, however, consider how these organisations were funded. The other studies of London within this period have been local studies relating to later episcopacies, mainly covering the

¹ Lewis, *Lighten their Darkness*, p. 253; Randall T. Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1891), Vol. 1, p. 255.

1880s.² In addition to these local studies, Hugh McLeod has also examined secularisation from the angle of class and church attendance in London in the period 1880 to 1914. McLeod highlights a decline in middle- and upper-class church attendance from the 1880s onwards; this finding will be engaged with in the concluding chapter.³ There have also been various studies on the settlement movement in the East End of London. The settlements were particularly popular from the 1880s onwards, the most famous being Toynbee Hall and Oxford House both established in 1884.⁴ The recent deposit of a significant archive relating to the diocesan organisations in this study provides the opportunity to revisit and refresh the details of Tait's episcopate with a particular emphasis on the implementation of his home-missionary strategy for London.⁵ As explained in the introductory chapter, the aim of this thesis is to evaluate the financial commitment of the Anglican laity through their support of the organisations selected for this study. It is therefore necessary in this chapter to describe and categorise the form of these organisations in order to aid the evaluation in subsequent chapters.

This chapter outlines the form of home-missionary organisations established in connection with Tait's episcopacy. The form will be discussed in terms of the committee membership, the objects of the society, and brief indications of the organisation. The funding of these organisations will then be analysed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5, which look at the funding

² M.J. Peel, 'The London Episcopate of Archibald Campbell Tait, 1856-1868', University of London, PhD thesis, 1988; Alan Bartlett, 'The Churches in Bermondsey, 1880-1939', University of Birmingham, PhD thesis, 1987; Colin Marchant, 'Interaction of Church and Society in an East London Borough (West Ham)', University of London, PhD thesis, 1979; Cox, *The English Churches*; Williams, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture*. Alan Bartlett's thesis evaluates church work in working-class Bermondsey by Anglicans, Nonconformists and Roman Catholics in the period 1880 to 1939, and charts their decline after the 'Golden Age of the Parish' of 1880 to 1914. Colin Marchant's thesis examines the interaction of church and society in the borough of West ham in the period 1851 to the 1970s; it is, however, heavily weighted towards the mid twentieth century.

³ McLeod, *Class and Religion*, pp. 237-38.

⁴ D.B. McIlhiney, 'A Gentleman in Every Slum: Church of England Missions in East London, 1837-1914', University of Princeton, PhD thesis, 1977; Lucinda Matthew Jones, 'Centres of Brightness: The Spiritual Imagination of Toynbee Hall and Oxford House, 1880-1914', University of Manchester, PhD thesis, 2009.

⁵ A large archive of diocesan material held by the London Metropolitan Archives was released in December 2011.

techniques employed and evaluate the financial health of the societies. As indicated earlier, the organisations considered in this study comprise, chiefly the Bishop of London's Fund (BLF), established in 1863, and the diocesan societies which it funded. These were the London Diocesan Home Mission (LDHM), established in 1857; the Parochial Mission Women Association (PMWA), established in 1860; and the London Diocesan Deaconess Institution (LDDI), established in 1861.⁶ These organisations were all dependant upon the financial support of the Anglican laity. In order to be comprehensive in the analysis of organisations established within Tait's episcopate, the Lay Helpers' Association (LHA), established in 1865 and the Ladies' Diocesan Association (LDA), established in 1864, are also included. The LHA is included because it received a grant from the BLF in order to cover the society's running costs. Initially all of the LHA's running costs were met by the BLF; consequently, it did not need to solicit funds from the Anglican laity. The LDA did not receive any funding from the BLF; it is included in this thesis because it was an important fundraiser *for* the BLF. The organisation of lay help, in these two organisations, was a new home-missionary development within the period. The study also includes the East London Church Fund (ELCF), established in 1880, which was a spin-off sister organisation of the BLF. These societies have been categorised as 'male' and 'female' organisations for the purposes of this thesis. The male categorisation has been assigned to the BLF, LDHM, ELCF and LHA because these societies had all male committees and principally used or funded male workers. The female categorisation has been assigned to the LDDI, PMWA and LDA because these they had partially or entirely female committees and only used female workers. Alternatively, the societies could have been organised by function (for example, one categorisation could have been funding body), but the gender categorisation proved most useful as an organising principle. This was because of the similarities in the way that the societies in these categories

⁶ The only diocesan organisation which is not included is the London Diocesan Board of Education. This organisation received a block grant from the BLF.

raised funds and in their funder-base. This ‘male’ and ‘female’ categorisation has been used to structure the latter part of the chapter and will be utilised again in Chapters 4 and 5. This approach has been adopted in order to see whether gender appears to influence the infrastructure of the organisations, the fundraising strategies employed, and the identity of the funder-base. The purpose of this approach is to determine whether models of financial success or decline can be mapped to a particular gender of organisation. Firstly though, the chapter will discuss Tait’s superintendence of the LDCBS with a view to highlight the initial continuity of strategy from Blomfield’s episcopate.

2. Bishop Tait and the London Diocesan Church Building Society

In 1856, on becoming Bishop of London, Tait inherited from Blomfield the rather lacklustre and recently reconstituted LDCBS. The *Third LDCBS Annual Report* of 1856/57 already showed the organising committee’s disillusionment with the society. The annual income of the fund was only £7,002.⁷ The *Fifth LDCBS Annual Report* for 1858/59, however, took on a more optimistic tone because the issue of spiritual destitution in the metropolis had been prominently in the public mind.⁸ This was due to the events in 1858: the publication of the report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the spiritual condition of the large towns, and the presentation of Bishop Tait’s first charge as Bishop of London.⁹ The Select Committee reported that church sittings provided by all denominations only accommodated 29.7 per cent of the population of London, instead of the 58 per cent standard established in Horace Mann’s census report. The report concluded that an additional 669,514 extra sittings

⁷ In contrast to the relatively low income of the LDCBS, the annual income of the interdenominational LCM rose through this period from around £20,000 a year in 1850, to around £32,000 in 1856. See Lewis, *Lighten Their Darkness*, p. 277.

⁸ The 1858/59 receipts were still at a modest level of £5,554, and this figure includes £216 in repaid loans.

⁹ *Fifth LDCBS Annual Report*, p. 5; Tait, *Charge 1858*.

were needed to raise the percentage to 58 per cent.¹⁰ Bishop Tait was a member of the select committee, and the Reverend Thomas Fraser Stooks (1816-1874), in his capacity as Secretary to the LDCBS, provided the committee with statistics on church accommodation in London.¹¹ The report made eight recommendations to remedy the problem of spiritual destitution: the use by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of income formerly belonging to the Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral; the union of certain benefices in the City of London; the sale of the sites of the old churches; the use of more short services in the church; voluntary donations from employers of labour towards the spiritual provision of their employees; a more sufficient endowment of livings in large towns, in order to encourage clergy to want to minister in these town churches; the establishment of 'parochial missions'; and finally, and 'above all, liberal voluntary aid from the public'.¹² Despite this publicity, the LDCBS income did not significantly improve: receipts for the year 1859-60 were £6,661, including £579 in repaid loans. In an address to Tait, the LDCBS committee reported on how the 'scarcity of funds' was limiting the work of the society:

The development of Church Extension in London can only be in proportion to the liberality with which it is supported by the community at large. For, my Lord, it is necessary that we keep steadily in view the certain truth, that the efforts we make for the spiritual benefit of London must depend upon voluntary contributions. It is clear from the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords that no aid will be given by Government.¹³

¹⁰ 1857-58 (387) (387-I) *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, Appointed to Inquire into the Deficiency of Means of Spiritual Instruction and Places of Divine Worship in the Metropolis, and in Other Populous Districts in England and Wales, Especially in the Mining and Manufacturing Districts; and to Consider the Fittest Means of Meeting the Difficulties of the Case; and to Report thereon to the House; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix*, p. iii; *The Times*, 12 August 1858, p. 6.

¹¹ Stook's list of 'Parishes and Districts in the Metropolis with Populations from 1,000 to upwards of 30,000', in *Report from the Select Committee* (1857-58), p. 88. All of Stooks' incumbencies were in London: Curate of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, 1845-48; Perpetual Curate of St Luke's, Berwick Street, Oxford Street, 1848-52; Perpetual Curate of St Ann's, Highgate Rise, 1853-68; Vicar of Holy Trinity, Brompton, 1870-72; Prebendary of St Paul's, 1863.

¹² *The Times*, 12 August 1858, p. 6.

¹³ LMA Ms. DL/A/H/054/01, LDCBS General Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1854-64, 8 July 1859.

The LDCBS felt that the problem was one of perception because the very name ‘London Diocesan Church Building Society’ implied that it was just a church-building society. In March 1860, Tait issued an appeal on behalf of the LDCBS which attempted to dispel this idea, saying that the society should be thought of as a ‘parochial extension society’ rather than a church-building society.¹⁴ The implication was that the Anglican laity was tired of church-building schemes. Tait’s appeal stressed the society’s use of missionaries, which had been introduced as a new object in 1857 at the suggestion of the Evangelical Robert Grosvenor, Baron Ebury. This new LDCBS object was to make grants for missionary clergymen ‘to labour in Districts where, as yet, there is no Church, but where it is intended at some future time to build one’; this object was introduced in the summer of 1857.¹⁵ This initiative to fund men as well as buildings was new. The additional curates at work in Bethnal Green had not been funded by the MCF or BGCF, but by the ACS and CPAS.¹⁶ In addition, in 1857, the LDCBS extended its objects to include the purchase of sites, the purchase or building of temporary churches, and the building of school-churches.¹⁷ The school-church, first introduced in 1857, was a multi-purpose building which could be used on weekdays as a school and on Sundays as a church.¹⁸ The expansion of the objects of the LDCBS coincided with the launch of the LDHM, the first of the new organisations to be established during Tait’s episcopate. While the LDCBS had expanded its objects to include missionaries and the use of a variety of buildings, its fundamental limitation was that it was not attracting sufficient funds from the Anglican laity. Tait addressed this problem by launching two new societies as substitutes to the LDCBS; firstly, the LDHM in 1857, and then the BLF in 1863.

¹⁴ Tait, *From the Bishop of London to the Laity of the Diocese*, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Third LDCBS Annual Report*, pp. 10-11, and p. 19. See also LMA Ms. DL/A/H/054/01, LDCBS General Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1854-64, 10 April 1863. And LMA Ms. DL/A/H/054/02/001, LDCBS Sub-Committee Minute Book, 1855-66, 19 January 1857.

¹⁶ *Bethnal Green Churches and Schools Fund* (1854?), p. 30.

¹⁷ *Church Work among the Masses*, Old Series, No. III (April 1862), pp. 29-30; *Third LDCBS Annual Report*, p. 3.

¹⁸ Walsh, *Progress of the Church in London* (1887), pp. 34-35; *The Times*, 2 February 1857, p. 7.

3. The Establishment of the New Male Societies: London Diocesan Home Mission (1857), Bishop of London's Fund (1863), Lay Helpers' Association (1865) and East London Church Fund (1880)

The London Diocesan Home Mission (established 1857)

It was the employment of clergymen to act as home missionaries that formed the basis of the LDHM, the first new diocesan organisation established by Tait. This object was funded by contributions from the laity and from the churches to which they were attached; after 1863 it received additional funds from the BLF.¹⁹ The inspiration for the LDHM came from the pioneering work being carried out in the parish of Islington. Tait's first public engagement as Bishop of London had been to chair the inaugural meeting of ICES in December 1856. The bishop was both surprised and pleased to hear that Islington had two different types of society attached to it: one for church building and one for home mission.²⁰ In particular, Tait congratulated the ICHM (established in 1854), on its use of temporary and innovative buildings, such as cattle sheds and a garden shelter, as temporary churches. The object of the ICES was to address the deficiency of church accommodation in Islington brought to light by the recently published Census Report and by the work of the ICHM.²¹ Its target was to erect ten churches in six years.²² Tait agreed with the Islington model, that the best method was to first build up the congregation and then build the physical church.²³ This model, established by the Reverend Daniel Wilson junior, thus shaped the form of Tait's own diocesan model of church extension.²⁴

¹⁹ The church payments were called mission payments.

²⁰ ICES, *Occasional Papers No.1*, p. 9.

²¹ ICES, *Occasional Papers No.1*, p. 2.

²² ICES, *Occasional Papers No.1*, pp. 6-7.

²³ ICES, *Occasional Papers No.1*, pp. 9-11.

²⁴ Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, 2 vols. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), Vol. 2, p. 27.

The LDHM was established on the premise that the existing parochial clergy in London were so overstretched that it was unrealistic to expect them to also evangelise the masses.²⁵ Its method was to go into densely populated areas where the existing parochial machinery was inadequate and to promote the Gospel. Overall the strategy of the LDHM was to build up a community before attempting to build a church. In Tait's opinion this was the way to get the poor to attend church:

When you have sent the right man, and he ministers amongst them, and has gathered them one by one to attend on his ministrations, whether in the open air or in a saw-mill, or wherever it may be, then when you have a permanent church he walks into that church at the head of his already formed congregation.²⁶

The Evangelical Dudley Ryder (1798-1882), second Earl of Harrowby, reporting at the annual meeting of the LDHM in 1865, articulated the benefits of this new missionary-led approach. He argued that the old model of focusing on 'permanent work' (i.e. church building) often resulted in the first incumbent 'preaching in a kind of desert'. Instead the more successful approach, following the methods employed by the apostles, was 'transient work' (i.e. addressing the multitudes where ever they may be) followed by later 'permanent work'. This second approach would ensure that the new incumbent would already have an established community both to attend church and to support him in his work.²⁷ As the LDHM only funded the salaries of missionaries, its aim was only to implement the first stage of this plan, the building up the community of people. Other organisations, such as the BLF would assist with the funding of the second phase of this plan, namely the building of a church. This missionary-centred, rather than church-centred model of church extension was thought to be more cost effective in the long term. The missionary would build a community of people who would in turn help raise some of the money needed ultimately for the church building.

²⁵ *First LDHM Annual Report*, p. 4.

²⁶ *Eighth LDHM Annual Report*, p. 34.

²⁷ *Eighth LDHM Annual Report*, pp. 40-41. Ryder was a committee member of CPAS, SRA, LDHM and BLF.

The LDHM was inaugurated with a series of experimental Sunday evening services held for working people in the parish churches of north and east London.²⁸ The LDHM advertised these special services for the working-class, in December 1857, in both the *Guardian* and *Record*.²⁹ It also carried out special missions aimed at particular workers, such as navvies, cabmen, omnibus men and railway labourers. Tait felt that the work of the LDHM was particularly well suited to tackle the urban problem of temporary work forces.³⁰ The LDHM also played an important part in the general missions which were the main innovation under Tait's successor, John Jackson (Bishop of London between 1869 and 1885). These were conducted over several days, the objective being 'the evangelization of the masses'. Such large-scale missions, which generally lasted between eight to ten days occurred in 1874, 1884, 1885 and 1886 and then became regular occurrences.³¹

Following the mixed-party model of organisation established under Blomfield, the committee of the LDHM was also of mixed Church party. It included Evangelicals, such as Daniel Wilson junior, prominent High Churchmen such as William Cotton, and Tractarians such as the Reverend Bryan King (1811-1895), Rector of St George-in-the-East and previously Perpetual Curate of St John's in Bethnal Green.³² Highlighting the continuity between diocesan organisations, about one-third of the LDCBS committee were also committee members of the LDHM. The High Church *Guardian* welcomed the work of the LDHM at its

²⁸ Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, Vol. 1, p. 260; *The Times*, 24 December 1857 p. 7.

²⁹ LMA Ms. DL/A/H/MS31992, LDHM Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1857-87, 23 December 1857.

³⁰ *Eighth LDHM Annual Report*, p. 34.

³¹ Walsh, *Progress of the Church in London* (1887), p. 4 and p. 67.

³² Examples of Evangelical committee members: the brewer Robert Culling Hanbury (1823-1867); Arthur Fitzgerald Kinnaid, tenth Baron Kinnaid (1814-1887); Reverend Thomas Dale; Reverend John Sinclair, Archdeacon of Middlesex; Reverend John Hampden Gurney; Reverend Edward Rhys Jones (1817-1899) and Reverend William Weldon Champneys (1807-1875). Several of these Evangelicals were also SRA committee members: Dudley Ryder, second Earl of Harrowby (1798-1882); Lord Robert Grosvenor, first Baron Ebury; Anthony Ashley Cooper, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury; William Francis Cowper-Temple, Baron Mount-Temple (1811-1888), and Sir Walter Rockliffe Farquhar. Examples of High Church committee members: Reverend Richard William Jelf (1798-1871); George William Lyttelton, fourth Baron Lyttelton; Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, fourth Earl of Carnarvon (1831-1890).

inauguration.³³ The *Evangelical Record*, however, expressed its concern over the mixed Church party constitution of the society: 'Here we have together some of the most faithful heralds of the pure Gospel of JESUS CHRIST linked together with others who preach "another gospel"'. This concern, however, was short-lived, and otherwise the paper reported approvingly on the work of the society.³⁴ The mixed Church party of the LDHM (and subsequently the BLF) is noteworthy as it is evidence of different parties working together in a time of party tensions caused by the rise of ritualism.³⁵ Tait was aware of the immensity of his new role as Bishop of London and made concessions to both Evangelicals and the High Church. For example, he allowed Evangelicals to hire theatres to hold services and also endorsed and allowed High Church practices in churches providing that they were not too provocative.³⁶ P.T. Marsh argues that he took this stance because 'he knew that the church needed all the zeal that it could command to make headway against the spiritual destitution, blank secularism, and social misery prevalent in London'.³⁷ Later in the 1860s, Tait justified the mixed-party committee constitution of the BLF to a committee member. He cited both the 'comprehensive' nature of the national Church and its consequential 'imperfect state'. He argued that 'the Church of England is on the side of this comprehensive charitable view of the comparative unimportance of lesser differences ...we are great believers in the unity of the Faith held even amongst great diversities of opinion'.³⁸ This mixed-party model represented diocesan efforts to work in unison.

³³ Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, Vol. 1, p. 261; *Guardian*, 25 November 1857, p. 910.

³⁴ Lewis, *Lighthen their Darkness*, p. 258. *The Record*, 8 January 1858, p. 2; 11 January 1858, p. 4; 3 March 1858, p. 1.

³⁵ See Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830-1910* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

³⁶ Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, Vol. 1, p. 440.

³⁷ Peter T. Marsh, 'Tait, Archibald Campbell (1811-1882)', *ODNB*.

³⁸ Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, Vol. 1, p. 501.

Bishop of London's Fund (established 1863)

The BLF was established as a consequence to Tait's second charge of 1862, in which he commented that the spiritual destitution in London was still being exacerbated by its expanding population. The Census of 1861 had recently been issued; it showed that in the previous decade the population of London had grown by over 400,000 people. The Church, in the past ten years, had only managed to keep pace with the growing population and had not made any inroads.³⁹ In response to Tait's charge, Charles Girdlestone (1797-1881), Rector of Kingswinford in Lincolnshire, suggested to Tait that he should specifically approach London's landowners for funds. Girdlestone, who was himself a property owner in London, commented that he had never been approached to make a donation to any charitable scheme in the metropolis.⁴⁰ Tait referred the letter to the committee of the LDCBS, who decided that an appeal should be launched. He gathered together a large meeting of the most influential men in London (men who owned property or employed labour in the metropolis) in April 1863, with a view to discuss the best way of addressing the 'spiritual needs' of the metropolis.⁴¹ His plan was to raise £500,000 from the laity over a ten-year period but such was the enthusiasm for his scheme that a target of £1million was set. *The Times* was quick to condemn the proposal as simply being yet another church-building scheme; Alexander James Beresford Beresford Hope (1820-1887), LDCBS committee member and BLF committee member, and the Reverend Thomas Fraser Stooks, Honorary Secretary to the LDCBS and BLF committee member, wrote letters to *The Times* to correct this misapprehension, both of them stressing the use of missionaries and laymen in the scheme.⁴² On 20 June 1863, Tait issued a pastoral letter to the

³⁹ Archibald Campbell Tait, *A Charge Delivered in December, 1862, to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, etc* (London: Rivingtons, 1862), p. 62.

⁴⁰ Girdlestone owned some chambers in Lincoln's Inn. *The Church Builder*, 1864, p. 65. Charles Girdlestone, *A Letter to the Right Hon. and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London* (London: Rivingtons, 1863).

⁴¹ *The Times*, 30 April 1863, p. 14.

⁴² *The Times*, 2 May 1863, p. 10; 4 May 1863, p. 5.

laity of the Diocese of London to launch the BLF.⁴³ The appeal set out the objects of the Fund: missionary clergy or additional curates; scripture-readers; mission women; clergymen's residences; schools; mission rooms or school churches; endowment of old or new districts; endowment of curacies; and building of churches. The BLF did not itself carry out this work: it funded the work carried about by other organisations and communities. For example, it would fund the LDHM for the salaries of its missionaries, and the PMWA for the salaries of its mission women.

The public prominence of the new society can be observed in the size and status of its committee. The first annual report of the BLF listed its 149 members. The committee had many high status members, including two dukes, one marquis, eight earls and five viscounts. The BLF committee (like those of the MCF, LDCBS, and LDHM) was of mixed Church party. By 1863, *The Record* was able to report the benefits of the mixed-party model whilst still retaining its scepticism:

It is delightful to see men holding different opinions on circumstances uniting together, because they have one common standing on the foundations of eternal truth... We are the friends of Union in a large and liberal sense, but we cannot shut our eyes to the perils of indiscriminate comprehension, or hope that men, who would destroy the foundations of the Church of England by sweeping away subscription to the Articles, would work together harmoniously in dealing with the spiritual destitution.⁴⁴

The continuity of the work of the MCF and the LDCBS can be seen in the continuity of the committee members; many of the BLF committee members had been involved in the earlier incarnations of the MCF or LDCBS. This was the case, for example, with William Cotton, Anthony Ashley Cooper, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, William Ewart Gladstone and Robert

⁴³ Archibald Campbell Tait, *The Spiritual Wants of the Metropolis and its Suburbs. A Letter to the Laity of the Diocese of London... With a statement by the Executive Committee of "The Bishop of London's Fund"* (London: Rivingtons, 1863).

⁴⁴ *The Record*, 26 June 1863, p. 2.

Grosvenor, first Baron Ebury.⁴⁵ Likewise there was a great deal of crossover between the LDHM and other committees, with over half of the LDHM committee being members of either the LDCBS or BLF committees.

The initial intention was that the BLF would be a temporary institution lasting for ten years, and that it would be carried out in connection with the existing machinery of the LDCBS. The first action of the BLF was to appoint a Special Committee to report on the religious condition of London. The detailed report, published in 1864, related the current metropolitan population to the existing provision of church accommodation, the amount of lay agency, and the amount of school provision.⁴⁶ From this data, the Report extrapolated the deficiency of provision according to a desired standard of provision that the Committee had adopted as necessary to provide an adequate standard of parochial service. The calculations were based on two basic standards of provision: one clergyman for every 2,000 people; and church accommodation for 25 per cent of the population of the diocese.⁴⁷ The figure of 25 per cent was derived from a reworking of Horace Mann's figures from the Census Report. Mann calculated, after making allowances for the aged and infirm, that 58 per cent of the population were able to attend church. The BLF report determined that in the Diocese of London the existing provision was for only 29 per cent of the population; 18 per cent was supplied by the Church of England and 11 per cent by Nonconformists. The BLF calculated that if the Church of England were to provide its proportional amount of the 58 per cent; it would need to provide 36 per cent, with

⁴⁵ Also: Henry Hucks Gibbs, first Baron Aldenham (1819-1907); Reverend Frederick George Blomfield (1823-1879); the banker Philip Cazenove (treasurer of several religious charities: SPG, SPCK, NS, ACS); William Tatton Egerton, first Baron Egerton (1806-1883); Sir Walter Rockliffe Farquhar; William Page Wood, first Baron Hatherley (1801-1881); Reverend Dr James Augustus Hessey (1814-1892), Chair of the SPCK; Alexander James Beresford Beresford Hope; Reverend William Gilson Humphry (1815-1886), Treasurer of the SPCK; William Henry Leigh, second Baron Leigh (1824-1905); Horatio Nelson, third Earl Nelson (1823-1913); Walter Charles James, first Baron Northbourne (1816-1893); and the printer William Rivington.

⁴⁶ BLF, *Statistics as to the Religious Condition of London, Ascertained by Inquiries in Connexion with the Bishop of London's Fund for Providing for the Spiritual Wants of the Metropolis and its Suburbs* (London: Rivingtons, 1864), pp. 3-4.

⁴⁷ BLF, *Statistics as to the Religious Condition*, p. 7 and p. 9.

Nonconformists providing the other 22 per cent.⁴⁸ Instead the BLF Committee proposed a more moderate and achievable 25 per cent as its standard of provision. This is a clear indication that the Church of England accepted that the Nonconformists had a role in providing church accommodation in the diocese. From this basis, the Report concluded that another 500 clergymen and an additional 250,000 sittings were required.⁴⁹ For context, Bishop Blomfield's objective for a standard of church provision, when he launched the MCF in 1836, had been one church and clergyman for every 3,000 people.⁵⁰ The reduction in the number of people that one clergyman could minister to was taken from the Select Committee report which stated that '2,000 are as many as can be tolerably be visited by one clergyman'; this highlights the fact that clergymen in this later period were expected to have a more active role.⁵¹ Working on a suggested standard of one lay agent to every 2,000 people, the report concluded that another 600 lay agents were required.⁵² It also reported that 92 parishes were without a parsonage; and it calculated that the Church of England should provide school provision for 100,000 children. Having calculated the scale of deficiency, the BLF's next step was to implement a strategy and to raise the requisite funds.

The strategic committee of the BLF was called the Origination Committee, so called because its purpose was to 'originate measures for accomplishing the objects of the Fund' and to devise different schemes of work for different situations.⁵³ The committee set out three different approaches (called schemes A to C) that could be taken in a parish in need of BLF assistance. Scheme A was to provide mission rooms or schools, and if necessary, sites for

⁴⁸ BLF, *Statistics as to the Religious Condition*, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁹ BLF, *Statistics as to the Religious Condition*, pp. 7-9.

⁵⁰ Blomfield, *Proposals for the Creation of a fund*, p. 5. See also Mole, 'The Victorian Town Parish', p. 362.

⁵¹ BLF, *Statistics as to the Religious Condition*, p. 5; House of Lords Committees, *Report from the Select Committee* (1857-58), p. vii.

⁵² This calculation also acknowledged levels of Nonconformist lay agent provision.

⁵³ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/04/001, BLF Origination Committee Minute Book, 1864-66.

churches in districts where missionary clergy were already at work under the supervision of different agencies. Scheme B was to divide the most populous parishes into conventional districts. Under this scheme 10,000 people were to be left under the jurisdiction of the mother church. The rest of the parish would then be arranged so each new district would have a population of around 4,000; each new temporary district would be provided with two missionary clergy. Working with the LDHM, the BLF would provide a mission station and if possible a site for a church.⁵⁴ After two years, the success of the temporary district would be reviewed to see if it was suitable for constitution as a permanent district. Steps would then be taken to obtain an endowment from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.⁵⁵ Parishes judged suitable for this scheme in 1864 were St Peter's, Walworth (with a population of 34,000); All Saint's Poplar (with a population of 33,000); St George in the East (with a population of 30,000); and Christ Church, Marylebone (with a population of 22,000). The *Ninth BLF Annual Report*, reporting on the year 1872, gave progress reports for BLF funded initiatives in all of these proposed areas; all had progressed successfully to having new permanent districts constituted. For example, St George in the East had been divided into three districts.⁵⁶ Finally, Scheme C was to provide missionary clergy, scripture-readers and missionary women in parishes where the population was too large for the existing staff to manage. This scheme was used in cases where the population size did not warrant division.⁵⁷ This strategy was implemented by working with a number of different agencies, such as the LDHM and SRA.

⁵⁴ *Fifteenth BLF annual report*, pp. 15-16. See development of the Queen's Park Estate.

⁵⁵ The BLF did also occasionally give small grants for endowment. By 1913 the BLF had only given about £15,000 for this object.

⁵⁶ *Ninth BLF Annual Report*, pp. 16-22.

⁵⁷ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/04/001, BLF Origination Committee Minute Book, 1864-66, 24 May 1864; 21 June 1864.

The BLF differed from the LDCBS and MCF in an innovative new way by making payments of annual block grants to a number of Anglican voluntary organisations.⁵⁸ Annual grants of between £1,000 and £2,000 were allocated to the LDCBS, LDHM, SRA, ACS, CPAS, and the Diocesan Board of Education.⁵⁹ Smaller grants of just a few hundred pounds, which varied year to year in size, were given to the PMWA and LDDI.⁶⁰ In respect of the LHA, variable small annual grants were made in order to cover its running costs. These societies all carried out home-missionary work that addressed the objectives of the BLF, either in terms of funding the missionary work of men and women, or the provision (hire or build) of buildings. In addition, grants were given directly to specific projects, such as the building of a church, the purchase of site for a church building or the purchase of an iron church. The BLF was, therefore, the central funder of all aspects of diocesan home-missionary work. In 1907, the Bishop of London described the BLF as being ‘the central war-chest of the Diocese’.⁶¹

In the first annual report, which presented income until 31 December 1864 (eighteen months from the launch of the appeal), the BLF had received £100,457 with a further £72,000 pledged; and many of the subscribers had pledged amounts for the full ten-year period.⁶² In 1868 when the BLF had been in existence for five years, Bishop Tait was succeeded as Bishop of London by John Jackson, an Evangelical.⁶³ At the end of this five-year period, the amount received by the BLF stood at £284,189 with an additional £66,558 promised, making a grand total of £350,747.⁶⁴ Grants for the first five years, totalling £214,017, had been made as

⁵⁸ It would appear that this innovation was initiated by the BLF. None of the earlier diocesan societies seemed to have given grants to other societies.

⁵⁹ *First BLF Annual Report*, p. 16 and p. 37.

⁶⁰ *Second BLF Annual Report*, p. 17; *Thirteenth LDDI Annual Report*, pp. 9-10.

⁶¹ *LDM*, December 1907, p. 381.

⁶² *First BLF Annual Report*, p. 13.

⁶³ Donald M. Lewis (ed.), *The Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography 1730-1860*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell Reference, 1995), Vol. 1, p. 513.

⁶⁴ BLF, *The Bishop of London's Fund: Some Account of Work since Midsummer 1863* (London, 1866-1871), No. XIV, p. 2.

follows: £4,000 for 20 parsonages (2 per cent of grants); £17,184 for schools (8 per cent); £15,204 on mission buildings and rooms (7 per cent); £1,218 for the endowment of two districts (1 per cent); £61,244 on permanent churches (29 per cent); £52,587 on sites for churches, schools, mission buildings and parsonages (24 per cent); and £62,580 on clergy and lay agents (29 per cent).⁶⁵ To contextualise this expenditure, a statement by the BLF Executive Committee in 1865, estimated, in respect of living agents, that the cost of a missionary clergyman or additional curate was £100 to £200 per annum; a scripture reader £70 per annum; and a mission woman £40 per annum. It also estimated that the building cost of a parsonage was about £1,500 to £2,000; a church was £5,000; a mission church was £2,000; and a school building was estimated to cost £2 to £3 for every scholar, plus an additional £1,000 for the site.⁶⁶

In 1873, Jackson confirmed the BLF as a permanent institution and calculated that the nearly £500,000 given out in grants, had raised an equivalent £1,500,000 in supportive funding for projects, with an additional £1,000,000 capital from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the endowment of new parishes.⁶⁷ Reviewing the work of the first ten years, Jackson commended the BLF and estimated that through the building of 110 new churches, the enlargements of other churches, the service of an additional 200 clergymen, and the work of various lay

⁶⁵ *The Church Builder*, 1869, p. 61. This figure for the first five years is very similar to the LCM equivalent expenditure in this five-year period of about £190,000. The BLF grants given for churches, parsonages and mission buildings were for both the acquisition of sites and the cost of building or hire of temporary building. The grants given for schools were for the acquisition of sites, and for the building of and fitting out of schools. (The school figure includes the annual block grant given to the Diocesan Board of Education). The grants given for living agents were mainly given in the form of annual block grants to societies, such as, the ACS, CPAS, LDDI, PMWA and SRA. Some grants were also given directly to incumbents to fund the cost of these living agents.

⁶⁶ BLF, *The Bishop of London's Fund for providing for the Spiritual Wants of the Metropolis and its Suburbs*, (London, 1866), p. 1. £7,000 is the average cost for building a church cited by William Walsh (Secretary of the LDHM) for both the site and building of a church. Walsh, *Progress of the Church* (1887), p. iv. The Bishop of Ripon suggests a similar sum when in 1895 he complains that the income of the BLF (£24,000) is barely sufficient to build four churches: *LDM*, July 1895, p. 237.

⁶⁷ John Jackson, *Letter from the Bishop of London on the Prospects and Future Work of the Bishop of London's Fund* (London: T. Brettel, 1874), p. 6. BLF, *The Origin of the BLF...and its Work for Fifty Years* (1913). Figure for end of 1873 was £467,910.

organisations, new provision had been made for half a million people in the diocese.⁶⁸ The population increase, in that ten-year period, had added an additional 350,000 people to the diocese. This increase, however, had been matched by an equivalent loss of 340,000 to the Diocese of Rochester when a number of parishes were transferred in 1867 on the death of Bishop Wigram of Rochester; this was under the terms of the London Diocese Act of 1863.⁶⁹ Taking these adjustments into account, the Diocese of London had therefore made a 'marked impression upon the destitution' within the previous ten years.⁷⁰ Setting out the society's objectives for the future, Jackson judged that there was not much need at present for further parish subdivision. Instead the BLF committee had decided that their priority should be strengthening missionary work in poor parishes that were not yet large enough for subdivision. In such areas, it was estimated that an additional one hundred mission buildings would be required, with the usual supporting cast of bible classes and mothers' meetings. In addition, there were still 140 parishes without parsonages.⁷¹

The Bishop of London (Bishop Winnington-Ingram, Bishop of London between 1901 and 1939) preaching in 1913, at the Fiftieth Jubilee thanksgiving service, estimated that in its first fifty years, the Fund had raised nearly £1,500,000 and had drawn forth about another £3,000,000 in funding.⁷² From this £1,500,000 raised, an estimated 46 per cent of the funds had been spent on mission clergy, curates and lay agency; 28 per cent on church building; 18 per cent on mission buildings; 5 per cent on schools; 2 per cent on parsonages and 1 per cent

⁶⁸ For comparison, the MCF and BGCF together had funded the building of 78 churches (with an additional seven churches funded by individual benefactors) and the employment of 146 additional clergymen.

⁶⁹ Walsh, *Progress of the Church in London* (1887), p. 42; John Jackson, *The Parochial System. A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London in November 1871* (London, 1871), p. 11; Church Congress, *Report of the Proceedings of Church Congress*, 1899, pp. 34-35.

⁷⁰ Jackson, *Letter from the Bishop of London*, pp. 4-5. Jackson was referring to 'spiritual destitution' which was a commonly used phrase. See for example, MCF, *Spiritual Destitution in the Metropolis: An Appeal on Behalf of the Metropolis Churches' Fund* (London, 1845).

⁷¹ Jackson, *Letter from the Bishop of London*, pp. 9-10.

⁷² *The Times*, 6 May 1913, p. 6; BLF, *Origin of the BLF*, p. 9.

on endowment.⁷³ In summary, 54 per cent of funds had been granted for capital projects or ‘permanent work’ and 46 per cent for salaries or ‘transient work’.⁷⁴ The 1913 anniversary booklet reviewed the work of the Fund during its first fifty years and reported that the BLF had helped fund the erection of 240 churches and several hundred mission rooms, in addition to supplying curates and lay workers to many parishes.⁷⁵ In contrast to the low income levels experienced by the LDCBS, the BLF was successful in establishing a steady income stream of at least £20,000 per annum through the period. Despite this, the Bishop of London wrote a letter to all incumbents in 1911 stating that his ‘one great disappointment’ was his failure to increase the Fund’s income to its required level; at the beginning of his episcopacy he had suggested that the fund needed around £50,000 a year to meet its duties to accommodate the continuously expanding population.⁷⁶

Lay Helpers’ Association (established 1865)

The LHA stated, in 1886, that the period from the 1860s to the 1880s had seen a complete transformation in the use and appreciation of the skills of the layman. Their analogy was that the ground for laymen had been ‘ploughed’ by Bishop Blomfield, ‘planted’ by Bishop Tait and ‘watered’ by Bishop Jackson.⁷⁷ It was, however, for Bishop Tait that they reserved their greatest praise. In the first issue of *London Diocesan Magazine* in 1886, the LHA entry commented that: ‘It was reserved for Bishop Tait – the “Bishop of the Laity” as he was sometimes called...to enlist the laity at large under the standard of the Bishop of the Diocese.’⁷⁸ They argued that under previous bishops, laymen had been appreciated simply for their ‘money qualification’ and their contribution to committee work. In contrast, they credited

⁷³ BLF, *Origin of the BLF*, pp. 5-9.

⁷⁴ ‘Permanent’ and ‘transient’ are the terms used by the Earl of Harrowby, see Chapter 2.

⁷⁵ *LDM*, December 1907, p. 381.

⁷⁶ *LDM*, May 1902, pp. 162-63; March 1911, p. 70.

⁷⁷ *LDM*, May 1886, pp. 3-7.

⁷⁸ *LDM*, May 1886, pp. 3-7.

Bishop Tait for being the first Bishop to wholeheartedly appreciate that the laity had valuable spiritual attributes that could be utilised practically.⁷⁹ The unstated economic aspect of this development was that lay help was a low-cost way of supporting the clergy. The LHA's limited financial needs (of about £300 to £400 per annum) were initially funded by the BLF but over time it became self-supporting through membership contributions.⁸⁰

The LHA was established in 1865, in accordance with a recommendation of a sub-committee of the BLF under the presidency of the Bishop of London.⁸¹ The constitution of its committee was half laymen and half clergy. To be admitted into the association, the laymen had to be a communicant who engaged voluntarily in Church work; they had to be recommended by a clergyman or two existing associates. The aim of the association was to support existing lay workers and to attract new ones. It did this by organising local meetings, lectures and services for its members, thereby creating a support network for the lay workers. The LHA arranged training sessions in preaching and doctrine for their members. Every year a four-week residential course of training was available to lay helpers at Keble College. This course gave the lay readers the opportunity to attend theological lectures and sermons, and to meet other lay agents. Some of the lay readers were sanctioned by the Bishop to be missionaries, but the majority acted as parochial readers, under the supervision of their incumbent, in mission services. By the 1880s, the LHA had nearly 4,000 members; by the 1890s this had risen to 6,000.⁸² The LHA was reconstituted in 1909 under the new name of the Readers Board and

⁷⁹ *LDM*, May 1886, pp. 3-7.

⁸⁰ In 1887 it was proposed that the LHA should become self supporting. The BLF grant ceased entirely in 1900 and from this point on all costs were met by income raised from membership contributions. *LDM*, June 1887, p. 55; August 1900, p. 342.

⁸¹ London Diocesan Association of Lay Helpers, *Diocesan Organisation of Lay Help: A Paper read at the Conference of the London Diocesan Association of Lay Helpers* (London: Rivingtons, 1868), p. 6.

⁸² *Official Yearbook of the Church of England*, 1883, pp. 112-13; 1891, pp. 98-99. In 1891, the Diocesan Readers' Board was formed with the object of supervising the nomination, examination and admission of lay readers in the Diocese of London.

Association of Readers for the Diocese of London.⁸³ In 1880 a similar organisation, entitled the Lay Workers' Association was established for the Diocese of Rochester.⁸⁴ The LHA was an innovation in the organisation of lay help in the diocese, complementing the work of the Ladies' Diocesan Association.

East London Church Fund (established 1880)

Although the ELCF was not established within Tait's episcopacy, it has been included in this study as it was created as an off-shoot sister organisation to the BLF. In 1879, the post of Bishop Suffragan of Bedford was created, the first Bishop being William Walsham How (1823-1897).⁸⁵ His responsibility was the East of London, specifically the three rural deaneries of Hackney, Spitalfields and Stepney (with a population of 700,000); and the parish of Tottenham (with a population of 46,000).⁸⁶ In 1888 responsibility for Islington, Saint Sepulchre (not including the two city parishes), Shoreditch and Enfield was added to the Bishopric, which equated to a responsibility for an additional 700,000 people.⁸⁷

ELCF missionaries and lay agents evangelised through a variety of means: they held mission services in common lodging houses; carried out thrift, temperance and purity work; promoted emigration; ran guilds, classes, unions; organised mission services illustrated by magic lanterns and pictures; held Church history lectures; ran public nurseries and various other agencies 'to redeem children'; and carried out missionary work amongst the Jews and foreign

⁸³ *Official Yearbook of the Church of England*, 1909, pp. 101-02.

⁸⁴ Walsh, *Progress of the Church* (1887), p. 62.

⁸⁵ The subsequent Bishop of Bedford between 1888 and 1898 was Robert Claudius Billing (1834-1898); though he ceased actively working in 1895 due to ill health. From 1895 the role was assumed by the newly created post of Bishop Suffragan of Stepney, held firstly by George Forrest Browne (1833-1930) who had been secretary to the LDHM; it was then held by Arthur Foley Winnington-Ingram (1858-1946). The role was shared from 1898 with the creation of the role of Bishop Suffragan of Islington, held by Charles Henry Turner (1842-1923) between 1898 and 1923.

⁸⁶ ELCF, *Statement of the ELCF 1880-81*, p. 5.

⁸⁷ *Eighth ELCF Annual Report*, p. 6.

immigrants.⁸⁸ In 1899, the ELCF took over the management of the Rosenthal Fund (also known as the East London Mission to the Jews) and renamed it as the Church of England Fund for Work among the Jews in East and North London.⁸⁹ The ELCF had a sub-committee called the Evangelistic Committee which organised open-air services and missionary services in churches, mission halls and public halls.⁹⁰

Echoing the model of the BLF, the ELCF was managed by an all male mixed Church party committee of both clerical and lay members. And also like the BLF, it functioned as a funding body which supported the existing parochial machinery. The ELCF differed from the BLF in that it only funded living agents (missionary and additional clergy, curates, and lay agency) in the geographical area under the supervision of the Suffragan Bishop. It did not give funds for the building of churches, mission buildings or parsonages; these were still covered by grants from the BLF.⁹¹ The Fund did not completely relieve the BLF of its financial responsibilities relating to living agents working in the north and east of London until 1891 when it began to take on its relevant portion of the BLF's annual block grants: for example, grants to the LDHM, LDDI, PMWA and SRA.⁹² Its objects were funded entirely by contributions from the laity.

⁸⁸ *Seventh ELCF Annual Report*, p. 7.

⁸⁹ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/11/01, ELCF Committee Minute Book, Vol. 4 1896-1900, 30 December 1898; 24 February 1899. The Rosenthal Fund took its name from its founder Reverend Michael Rosenthal (d. 1907) who had served as curate and as vicar in predominantly Jewish parishes in the East End. Rosenthal was a Lithuanian Jewish rabbi who converted to Christianity; he was ordained as deacon in 1877.

⁹⁰ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/11/01, ELCF Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1880-85. London Diocesan Conference, *Report of the Evangelization Committee Presented to the London Diocesan Conference, at its Second Sitting, March 1884* (London: Spottiswoode, 1884).

⁹¹ Walsh, *Progress of the Church in London* (1887), p. 47.

⁹² LDM, March 1901, p. 97; LMA Ms. DL/A/K/11/01 ELCF Committee Minute Book, Vol.1 1880-85, 29 December 1882; *ELCC*, June 1891, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 5.

Summary of the Male Organisations

The new male home-missionary organisations established under Tait continued the mixed portfolio approach of using both buildings (churches, parsonages and mission rooms) and missionaries which had been established by Blomfield. Under Tait and his successors, however, more emphasis and money was directed towards the use of people in the form of scripture-readers, missionaries, mission women and deaconesses. Three of the four male societies were solely concerned with the use of people to evangelise the masses. In addition, nearly half of the expenditure of the BLF was directed towards the use of missionary agency. Furthermore, the BLF's role as the central source of financial support for different agencies at work in the diocese, brought them together and made them all part of a more co-ordinated diocesan scheme.

4. Establishment of the New Female Societies: Parochial Mission Women Association (1860), London Diocesan Deaconess Institution (1861) and Ladies' Diocesan Association (1864)

Parochial Mission Women Association (established 1860)

In 1857 Ellen Ranyard (1810-1879), a Congregationalist, established the inter-denominational and evangelical Bible and Domestic Female Mission. The Ranyard Bible Mission, as it was later known, was innovative in its use of both working-class lay men and women as missionaries.⁹³ Inspired by Ranyard's book *The Missing Link*, published in 1859, four upper-class ladies decided to establish an Anglican version of this society. Their objections to the Ranyard Bible Women were that the women were often Nonconformist and that they were independent of the parochial system.⁹⁴ The PMWA was managed by a committee of Lady Managers; this governance was supplemented by a 'Committee of Reference' which consisted

⁹³ Lori Williamson, 'Ranyard, Ellen Henrietta (1810-1879)', *ODNB*.

⁹⁴ C.C. Liddell, *Work in Dark Places* (London, n.d.), p. iii.

of eight gentlemen, generally family relations of the Lady Managers of the PMWA. Their role was to audit the annual accounts and to advise the all female management committee on financial matters.⁹⁵

The society's four founders were all married to politically prominent men.⁹⁶ Lady Charlotte Hatherley (1804-1878) was married to the Liberal politician William Page Wood, first Baron Hatherley (1801-1881) who was Lord Chancellor from 1868 to 1872. Lady Laura Selborne (1821-1885) was the wife of the Conservative politician Roundell Palmer, first Earl Selborne (1812-95) who succeeded Hatherley as Lord Chancellor. Lady Cecily Susan Montagu of Beaulieu (1835-1915) was married to Conservative politician Lord Henry John Douglas-Scott-Montagu (1832-1905). The society's president was Caroline Jane Talbot (1809-1876). She was the widow of John Chetwynd Talbot (1806-1852), leader of the parliamentary bar; their son was the High Church Bishop of Winchester, Edward Stuart Talbot (1844-1934) who was the first Warden of Keble College.⁹⁷ Caroline Jane Talbot was the daughter of James Archibald Stuart-Wortley, first Baron Wharncliffe (1776-1845) and Tory politician, thereby making her the aunt of her co-founder Lady Montagu of Beaulieu. The society's presidents were: Caroline Jane Talbot, from 1860 to her death in 1876; Lady Montagu of Beaulieu, from 1876 to her death in 1915; and Lady Maud Caroline Hamilton (1846-1938), wife of Conservative politician Lord George Francis Hamilton (1845-1927), from 1915 until the society's demise in 1923.⁹⁸ The female committee and all male finance committee were

⁹⁵ William Page Wood, *Parochial Mission Women, A Paper Read at Church Congress* (London: Emily Faithfull, 1864), p. 10.

⁹⁶ Roundell Palmer, *Memorials: Part I Family and Personal 1766-1865, Part II Personal and Political 1865-1895* (London: Macmillan, 1896-98); Part I, pp. 352-53.

⁹⁷ Sankey, 'Talbot, Edward Stuart (1844-1934)', rev. Geoffrey Rowell, *ODNB*; John Gilbert Talbot, *Memorials of Hon. Mrs. John Chetwynd Talbot* (London, Spottiswoode, 1876), p. 6.

⁹⁸ LPL Ms. 1686, PMWA Committee Minute Book 1876-79, 23 June 1876; Ms. 1693, PMWA Minute Committee Book 1909-16, 6 May 1915.

predominantly High Church and Conservative.⁹⁹ There was no clerical presence on the PMWA committee; the only clerical association was that the PMWA committee list reproduced in their annual reports stated that they worked under the official sanction of the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁰⁰ The PMWA committee was therefore limited to a close group of friends, relations and colleagues.

The PMWA was constituted on three principles: that its mission work would be part of the parochial system of the Church; that the mission women would be supervised by their Incumbent and by an assigned Lady-Superintendent; and that no alms would be given. The PMWA employed working-class women to act as mission women. They carried out house-to-house visiting and, through personal influence and example, taught thrift, economy and cleanliness.¹⁰¹ A special feature of the mission woman's work was to help the poor to save, by means of a Penny Bank, for new clothing or items for the home.¹⁰² The mission women were only placed in districts where the incumbent had applied for them. They worked under the supervision of a Lady Superintendent who held weekly mothers' meetings either in the afternoon or evening. In addition, there was a strong domestic element to the mission woman's work: providing a few hours of respite care for a mother with very ill children; washing the bedding of a bedridden invalid; nursing the sick; and making tea.

⁹⁹ Caroline Jane Talbot; John Gilbert Talbot (1835-1910), son of the founder; William Page Wood; Roundell Palmer; Lady Lucy Caroline Cavendish (1841-1925); George William Lyttelton, fourth Baron Lyttelton, Conservative politician; Lord Eustace Cecil (1834-1921), Conservative politician and brother of the later Conservative Prime Minister, Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, third Marquess of Salisbury (1830-1903); the Conservative politician Walter Charles James, first Baron Northbourne (1816-1893); and the merchant banker Alban George Henry Gibbs (1846-1936), second Baron Aldenham who acted as an honorary treasurer of the PMWA. LPL Ms. 1686, PMWA Minute Committee Book 1876-79, 6 February 1879. The only Evangelical was Lady Laura Selborne who had been brought up in an Evangelical household; her husband Roundell Palmer was High Church.

¹⁰⁰ *Sixth PMWA Annual Report*, front cover.

¹⁰¹ Wood, *Parochial Mission Women*, p. 5

¹⁰² *Official Yearbook of the Church of England*, 1914, pp. 72-73.

In 1864, the BLF minute book records the approval of an annual grant to the PMWA because it was 'chiefly of a Diocesan character'.¹⁰³ The PMWA started off as a home-missionary organisation within the Diocese of London, and although it expanded its geographical area in 1862, it was still mainly confined to the Dioceses of London and Rochester. In November 1862, the PMWA opened a western branch (covering Cornwall and Devon) and in 1871 a northern branch (covering Northumberland).¹⁰⁴ In 1884 the society reported that they were employing 187 mission women: 140 of these were situated in the Dioceses of London and Rochester.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, in 1868 Countess Charlotte Spencer (1835-1903), wife of John Poyntz Spencer, fifth Earl Spencer (1835-1910), formed a 'Supplemental Ladies Association' to the work of the PMWA with the object of carrying out work in the East End. Its aim was give material assistance in East End parishes in a way that did not infringe the PMWA principle of not giving indiscriminate alms. Examples of the sort of aid given by this supplemental association were: admittance orders for hospitals; material; outfits for girls going to service; and the hire of a bed, mattress, or pail and brush for whitewashing walls.¹⁰⁶ The objects of the PMWA were funded by a combination of contributions from the laity, mission payments (from the parishes in which the mission women worked), and grants from the BLF and ELCF.

The London Diocesan Deaconess Institution (established 1861)

The LDDI was founded in 1861 with the original name of the North London Deaconess Institution. In England, a number of Anglican sisterhoods had been founded in the 1840s; the first Anglican sisterhood, the Park Village Sisterhood (near Regents Park) had been

¹⁰³ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/02/001, BLF Executive Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1863-66, 11 January 1864.

¹⁰⁴ *Mission Life*, 1871, Vol. 2, Part 2, pp. 619-20; LPL Ms. 1683, PMWA Committee Minute Book 1869-72, 18 Jan 1872.

¹⁰⁵ *Official Yearbook of the Church of England*, 1884, p. 75. The western branch was organised by the Lady Louisa Elizabeth Fortescue (1814-1899), the maternal aunt of Lady Montagu of Beaulieu.

¹⁰⁶ Charlotte Frances Frederica Spencer, *East and West* (London: Longmans Green, 1871), pp. vii-ix.

established in 1845. Sisterhoods were treated by the public with suspicion because of their association with the Oxford Movement and because they were independent of Episcopal authority.¹⁰⁷ In 1868, the name of the society was altered to become the London Diocesan Deaconess Institution, in order to make clear that it was not a sisterhood and that it was part of the diocesan machinery and therefore under Episcopal supervision. Tait, speaking in 1875 as Archbishop of Canterbury, sought to clarify that the orders of deaconesses were not sisterhoods: 'A Sisterhood, was a private society, whereas deaconesses were grafted into the framework of the Church.'¹⁰⁸ An important difference was that where sisterhoods were private and independent organisations, deaconess orders were diocesan organisations under Episcopal supervision. Also in differentiation of sisterhoods, the deaconesses did not take vows.

The LDDI was co-founded by Elizabeth Catherine Ferard (1825–1883) and the Reverend Thomas Pelham Dale (1821–1892), with the official approval of Bishop Tait. The community was initially supervised by Dale, a relation of Elizabeth Ferard by marriage, as the community's first Chaplain.¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth Ferard was set apart, in July 1862, as the first deaconess in the Church of England under this revived order. The LDDI was modelled on the German Protestant Deaconess Institution of Kaiserswerth founded in 1838. The LDDI, however, was a High Church organisation. In 1868, the Reverend Pelham Dale, himself High Church, resigned his position with the Institution, following various disagreements with the Elizabeth Ferard. She wanted the community to be more like a sisterhood and she wanted the Head Sister to have more personal control over the management of the Institution. Dale's intention had been that the organisation would 'provide a home and organisation for women

¹⁰⁷ Henrietta Blackmore, *The Beginning of Women's Ministry: The Revival of the Deaconess in the Nineteenth-century Church of England*, Church of England Record Society 14 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. xxi.

¹⁰⁸ (Sister) Joanna Baldwin, 'The Deaconess Community of St Andrew', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 12:2 (October 1961), p. 225.

¹⁰⁹ Ferard, the daughter of a solicitor, was related by marriage to Pelham Dale; her brother was married to his sister. Pelham Dale was the son of Thomas Dale (Rector of St Pancras).

who, having no vocation for the life of a “Religious,” yet wished to devote their energies to charitable works’.¹¹⁰ By the late 1880s the deaconesses had taken the title of ‘Sister’ and the Head Sister had taken the title of ‘Superior’; the term novice was introduced in the late 1890s.¹¹¹ These developments highlight the very aspect of sisterhoods that aroused public suspicion, their independence and Anglo-Catholic character.

The work of the deaconesses had three aspects: medical, educational and religious. The principal work of the Institution at its opening was nursing.¹¹² The nursing ward was also a ready field for evangelism and provided the deaconesses with many converts.¹¹³ The deaconesses also assisted in other external nursing activities: in the Great Northern Hospital; through the creation of missions in Bethnal Green during cholera pandemics; and the establishment of a nursing home (this later moved to Westgate-on-Sea near Margate).¹¹⁴ As the century progressed the deaconesses did less nursing, as the field of nursing developed into its own profession.¹¹⁵ In 1881, the nursing home based at the LDDI changed its purpose to become St Gabriel’s Industrial Home for Girls; this closed in 1897 when the space was needed to house the expanded number of deaconesses. The Home taught the girls embroidery, lace-making, weaving and rug-making. From the 1890s, the educational work of the deaconesses shifted from being in charge of the running of church schools to concentrating on scripture lessons instead and on Sunday school teaching.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ Helen Pelham Dale (ed.), *The Life and Letters of Thomas Pelham Dale*, 2 vols. (London: George Allen, 1894), Vol. 1, p. 74.

¹¹¹ CSA Ms. Teresa Joan White, ‘The (Deaconess) Community of St. Andrew, 1861-2011, p. 29. The deaconesses introduced vows in 1917, p. 14.

¹¹² Dale, *Life and Letters of Thomas Pelham Dale*, Vol. 1, p. 73.

¹¹³ *Tenth LDDI Annual Report*, p. 7.

¹¹⁴ *Second LDDI Annual Report*, p. 6; *Fifth LDDI Annual Report*, pp. 5-6; *Eleventh LDDI Annual Report*, pp. 7-8; *Fifteenth LDDI Annual Report*, p. 8.

¹¹⁵ Baldwin, ‘Deaconess Community of St Andrew’, p. 229; Blackmore, *Beginning of Women’s Ministry*, p. xx.

¹¹⁶ Baldwin, ‘Deaconess Community of St Andrew’, p. 229; Blackmore, *Beginning of Women’s Ministry*, p. xx.

The first annual report of the LDDI outlined the results of the mission work carried out in the society's first year: 'a population of 3,000 has been visited; nearly 70 children brought to baptism; children have been induced to attend school; parents have been induced to attend public worship'.¹¹⁷ Typically, the principal work of the deaconess concentrated on supporting a clergyman in his missionary work, for example at the Christ Church Mission, College Park (which was funded by the BLF in 1888). The Deaconesses supported the incumbent by carrying out district visiting, and organising mothers meetings, and women's and girls' Bible classes.¹¹⁸ They also participated in the larger-scale missionary events, initiated by Bishop Jackson, such as a concentrated ten-day mission held in February 1895, conducted in the parish of St Clement's, Notting Hill.¹¹⁹ In addition, in 1888 the LDDI took over the Lily Mission (established in about 1878); this was a lodging house for women and girls based in the St Clement's parish of Notting Hill.¹²⁰

The deaconess orders were not a movement of significant size. In 1863 the society was composed of three deaconesses, six probationers and eight associates.¹²¹ By 1899 there were 34 deaconesses, three probationers and 36 associates in the Diocese of London.¹²² The LDDI register of deaconesses records that in total by 1913, 80 deaconesses had been ordained for West London and 80 for East London home.¹²³ The total numbers of official Church of England deaconesses in the English provinces of Canterbury and York were 60 in 1882, 300 in

¹¹⁷ *First LDDI Annual Report*, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ *AD*, No. 20, July 1892, p. 304. See also No. 57, October 1901, p. 64.

¹¹⁹ *AD*, No. 31, April 1895, pp. 179-184.

¹²⁰ *Lily Mission Annual Report* [for year 1882]; *Lily Mission Annual Report* [for year 1883]. *AD*, No. 6, January 1889, p. 81.

¹²¹ Baldwin, 'The Deaconess Community of St Andrew', p. 221.

¹²² *AD*, No. 46, January 1899, p. 84.

¹²³ Figures supplied by Sister Teresa Joan White of the Community of Saint Andrew. The East London Deaconess home in Stepney was established by the Bishop of Bedford.

1920, and 216 in 1930.¹²⁴ The objects of the LDDI were funded by a combination of contributions from the laity, contributions from missions in which they worked, contributions from the deaconesses, and grants from the BLF and ELCF.

Ladies' Diocesan Association (established 1864)

The LDA, established in 1864, was a pioneering Anglican society for laywomen; it predated the establishment of the equivalent male society (the LHA) in the Diocese of London by one year. Its very existence and importance has eluded researchers who have stressed the importance of the Girls' Friendly Society (established 1874) and the Mothers Union (1887), both established much later. The LDA receives the smallest one sentence reference in Brian Heeney's *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850 -1930* (1988) and in Frank Prochaska's *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (1980).¹²⁵ It was established by Catharine Tait (1819-1878), wife of Bishop Tait. Catharine came from an Evangelical home; her father was William Spooner (1778-1857), the Evangelical Archdeacon of Coventry.¹²⁶ Hannah Baud, in her research on bishops' wives, characterises Catharine's efforts as being 'trailblazing'.¹²⁷ Her work spearheaded the organisation of women's work in the Church of England and her efforts as the wife of the Bishop of London were influential to the later wives of bishops. In particular, her example inspired the work of the more widely celebrated Louise Creighton (1850-1936), the wife of Mandell Creighton (Bishop of London between 1897 and 1901). The role of the wives of the bishops of London, in relation to diocesan organisations, is discussed further in Chapter 4.

¹²⁴ Brian Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), p. 70.

¹²⁵ Heeney, *Women's Movement in the Church of England*, p. 81; Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 179.

¹²⁶ Lewis, *Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, Vol. 2, p. 1078.

¹²⁷ Hannah Baud, 'Laura Ridding (1849-1939): The Life and Service of a Bishop's Wife', University of Gloucestershire, PhD thesis, p. 69.

The society's Chaplain, the Reverend Charles Tabor Ackland (1831-1910), was Vicar of St Anne's, Highgate Rise. In his thirty-year review of the LDA, in 1893, he said that at its inception in 1864 it had been unusual for institutions to admit such organised workers because 'Committees and Boards of Guardians feared the introduction of zeal which might not be tempered with discretion'.¹²⁸ However, these institutions agreed to admit female workers because these ladies had the sanction of the Bishop. Voluntary work by women had been considered unsuitable in the early nineteenth century as it took them away from their true domestic vocation.¹²⁹ Lady Lucy Cavendish (1841-1925) a member of the LDA executive committee, reiterated this point in an address to the LDA in May 1897.¹³⁰ She said that in the late 1850s it was very unusual for a young lady (the exception being a clergyman's daughter) to work amongst the poor, and commented that daughters were no longer shielded from social issues in the way that they had been in the past. Reflecting on her own grandmother's youth, she commented that her grandmother was not even aware that there were poor people in London.¹³¹ The LDA opened up the hospitals and workhouses to 'spiritual influences' and made this type of female philanthropic work standard practice by the end of the nineteenth century in such institutions.¹³²

Catharine had been inspired by a sermon by the Reverend Thomas James Rowsell (1816-1894) in St Paul's Cathedral, who criticised those who came to London for the season but did nothing spiritually to benefit themselves or London.¹³³ Her plan was systematically to organise ladies in London for the season, who wished to do 'distinct work for Christ beyond the limits

¹²⁸ *LDM*, May 1893, p. 163. Ackland had previously been Headmaster of Kensington School between 1869 and 1881.

¹²⁹ Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 55; Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 25.

¹³⁰ She was President of the LDA Westminster branch and a PMWA Lady Manager.

¹³¹ *LDM*, July 1897, pp. 222-23.

¹³² *LDM*, May 1893, p. 163.

¹³³ *LDM*, May 1893, p. 162. Rowsell was a BLF committee member and was instigator of the school-church.

of their own families – in workhouse visitation, and in hospitals, and in ministering to the wants of the poor in their own houses'.¹³⁴ The ladies also collected funds to be put in the hands of the Bishop to dispose of; this role was given prominence in the society's rules.¹³⁵ The women involved in the organisation were very high profile. For example, the following ladies were involved in the LDA: Louisa Twining (1820-1912), philanthropist; Catherine Gladstone (1812-1900), wife of the Liberal Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone; Angela Burdett-Coutts, philanthropist; and Georgiana Russell (1836-1922), daughter of the Whig Prime Minister, John Russell, first Earl Russell (1792-1878).¹³⁶ The LDA was the only organisation, of this type, in London for upper- and middle-class Anglican laywomen.

The Vice-Presidency of the LDA (the President being the Bishop) was a duty inherited by the subsequent wives (or daughters) of each Bishop of London. The LDA was carried on by Lucy Ellen Jackson during her father's episcopate (John Jackson, Bishop of London between 1869 and 1885); Jackson's wife having died early in his episcopacy.¹³⁷ Beatrice Temple (1844-1915), wife of Frederick Temple (Bishop of London between 1885 and 1896) in turn handed on the responsibility to Louise Creighton, wife of Mandell Creighton (Bishop of London between 1897 and 1901). Mrs Creighton did not hand over the organisation when her husband died in 1901 because his successor Arthur Winnington-Ingram (Bishop of London between 1901 and 1939) did not have a wife to take on the duties. Eventually though, in 1912, Mrs Creighton handed the mantle over to Elma Paget (1871-1958), wife of Henry Luke Paget (1853-1937, Bishop Suffragan of Stepney between 1909 and 1919) because she felt that the organisation was suffering through its lack of close connection to the Bishop.

¹³⁴ Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait*, Vol. 1, p. 448.

¹³⁵ *LDM*, May 1893, p. 163.

¹³⁶ *The Times*, 28 February 1865, p. 9; 27 September 1912, p. 6.

¹³⁷ *The Times*, 11 November 1885, p. 4.

The LDA used the *London Diocesan Magazine* (published between 1886 and 1927) as its principal organ of communication, sending a copy of each monthly issue to each of its members (as part of their return on their annual subscription of five shillings).¹³⁸ The LDA used notices in the *London Diocesan Magazine* mainly to advertise positions for volunteers. For example, in July 1889, the Reverend Henry Fawcett of St Thomas, Bethnal Green advertised for Sunday School teachers and for help with Girls' Evening Sewing Classes and Temperance Meetings.¹³⁹ And in 1892, the Reverend John H. Scott of Spitalfields Parish Church advertised for Lady Workers who could speak German, to work amongst the Jews.¹⁴⁰ The LDA notices also included information such as the establishment of the North London Ladies' Settlement and the courses available to ladies at King's College London.¹⁴¹ The association organised regular meetings for its members where they were addressed on such subjects as: 'Africa's Claims on English Women' by Eugene Stock (1836-1928), secretary and historian of the Church Missionary Society; 'The Needs of North and North-West London' by Alfred Earle (1827-1918), Bishop of Marlborough; and 'Tactics in Teaching' by the Reverend Frederick Ponsonby, Vicar of St Mary Magdalene, Munster Square.¹⁴² The LDA was, therefore, the central hub of information regarding women's work in the diocese.

The LDA was relaunched by Mrs Creighton, in May 1897, under the new name of the Women's Diocesan Association (WDA). In her memoir Mrs Creighton said that the organisation had stagnated to become 'a rather dwindling lifeless body' in the years after Mrs Tait.¹⁴³ After its reconstitution, it was organised along the lines of the rural deaneries and

¹³⁸ *LDM*, June 1897, p. 178.

¹³⁹ *LDM*, July 1889, pp. 85-87.

¹⁴⁰ *LDM*, July 1892, pp. 261-62.

¹⁴¹ *LDM*, January 1894, pp. 31-33.

¹⁴² *LDM*, April 1890, p. 381; April 1892, p. 136; June 1892, p. 218.

¹⁴³ James Thayne Covert (ed.), *Memoir of a Victorian Woman: Reflections of Louise Creighton, 1850-1936* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 267; *LDM*, June 1897, p. 176.

organised meetings to revitalise and organise women's work in the diocese. The WDA had a General Committee and Executive Committee. The General Committee had a representative from every parish and from all of the women's Church societies working in the diocese, such as the Girls' Friendly Society and the Mothers' Union. From this General Committee a smaller Executive Committee of 12 to 16 ladies was appointed.¹⁴⁴ The WDA spawned the very successful daughter organisation, the Girls' Diocesan Association (GDA) which was established by in 1901 by Beatrice Creighton (1872-1953), daughter of Louise Creighton.¹⁴⁵ The LDA and GDA were instrumental in organising and galvanising women's work in the diocese, and the importance of their fundraising efforts will be discussed further in subsequent chapters.

Summary of the Female Organisations

The establishment of female home-missionary organisations was a new development within Tait's episcopate. In the 1840s and 1850s, sisterhoods were initiated as a result of the Oxford Movement. These, however, were tarnished by their association with Catholicism. As a result, the Anglican Church strove to form its own form of female missionary work in the 1860s. The office of deaconess was developed to be a vow-less form of sisterhood and the parochial mission woman was developed to be an Anglican form of the interdenominational bible women. Both organisations stressed through words in their organisational name ('parochial' and 'diocesan') that the female workers would be under the superintendence of the Bishop. In addition to female workers, the LDA was a pioneering organisation that organised the female laity (of a certain class) in the diocese.

¹⁴⁴ *LDM*, June 1897, pp. 177-78.

¹⁴⁵ Margaret Cropper, *The Girls' Diocesan Association 1901-1961 and Spearhead 1961-1964* (London, 1976).

5. Conclusion

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the full development of a model of urban mission which appreciated the specific characteristics of life in an urban parish, which unlike the rural parish, experienced temporary working populations and shifting populations as people were either relocated due to city development or moved out to the suburbs. During the episcopacy of Bishop Tait a number of new diocesan Anglican home-missionary organisations were created which addressed the problems of urban mission in different ways. All of the societies were established as permanent societies and not as appeals to meet a short term aim. These organisations had both traditional and innovative dimensions. The BLF continued to fund church building and pay the salaries of ordained clergy in a revamped continuance of the work of the LDCBS but it was also innovative in the giving of grants to other diocesan organisations. The LDHM was modelled on the earlier work of the ICHM in Islington, but stimulated a major diocesan campaign to plant missionaries throughout the densely populated parishes of London with an aim to build up new congregations. The establishment of both the LDA and LHA was innovative in its organisation of laymen and laywomen in the diocese. In addition, the PMWA, LDDI and LDA were all forerunners in their organisation of Anglican female workers, both paid and unpaid.

These bodies exemplify three different approaches to voluntary Anglican organisation. First, the BLF and ELCF were grant-making bodies and raised their funds from voluntary contributions. Second, the LDHM, LDDI and PMWA were societies which carried out missionary work; they raised their funds from voluntary contributions and grants from the BLF and ELCF. And finally, the LHA and LDA were organisations to coordinate and support the work of lay helpers; they were either funded by grants from the BLF or were self-financing. The next chapter will discuss the fundraising strategies employed by these societies

before going on in Chapter 5 to discuss their financial health throughout this period with a view to commenting on consistency of financial support from the Anglican laity throughout the period.

Chapter 4 – The Mechanics of Fundraising

1. Introduction

Mark Noll, in his book *God and Mammon*, acknowledges that serious research on ‘the mechanics of fundraising’ utilised by American Protestant churches and voluntary organisations is rare. He then goes on to add that ‘even basic questions about the economic dimensions of these bodies remain unanswered’.¹ In parallel, there is a relatively small catalogue of research in the British historiography to illuminate this subject, either in the field of modern religious history or philanthropy. In respect of modern religious history, the little research that has been carried out into fundraising has been principally concerned with the finances of individual parish churches, and has paid little attention to the funding of home mission.² In addition, studies of philanthropy and philanthropic agency, such as Maria Luddy’s *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-century Ireland*, have typically been more concerned with philanthropic efforts in the form of good works. Luddy’s study, for example, covers the standard charitable fundraising practices employed in only one paragraph.³ This investigation of the mechanics of fundraising utilised by Anglican home-missionary organisations is therefore journeying into relatively unexplored territory. The purpose of this chapter is to establish how the organisations selected for this study raised funds. This information is valuable for two reasons. Firstly, it is an indicator of who the societies thought their funder-base was in terms of demographics and geographical location. Evidence can be

¹ Noll, *God and Mammon*, p. 10.

² See Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*; Bennett, ‘The English Anglican Practice of Pew-renting, 1800-1960’; Carmen M. Mangion, ‘Developing Alliances: Faith, Philanthropy and Fundraising in nineteenth-century England’ in *The Economics of Providence: Management, Finances and Patrimony of Religious Orders and Congregations in Europe 1773-1931*, Maarten Van Dijck, Jan de Maeyer, Jimmy Koppen and Jeffrey Tyssens (eds) (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2013), pp. 205-26. For the funding of foreign missions see Brian Stanley, ‘Home Support for Overseas Missions in Early Victorian England, c. 1838-1873’, University of Oxford, DPhil thesis, 1979. Chapter 5 and 6 of Stanley’s thesis cover the use of meetings, periodicals, deputations, and auxiliary societies. He makes no mention of entertainment forms of fundraising.

³ Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy*, pp. 179-80.

gleaned, for example, from where the societies advertised, where they held meetings, and the geographical spread of any collecting infrastructure. Secondly, this information is valuable because it is also makes possible an analysis of the professionalism and thoroughness of the societies' fundraising methods, and is therefore an indicator of which societies would be expected to have sustained and healthy finances.

Following the categorisation established in Chapter 3, this chapter will analyse the different funding mechanisms employed by 'male' and 'female' societies. It will then argue that the male and female societies approached fundraising in different ways. Different factors influenced how the societies were able to raise their funds. These included the size and status of the society, the influence and status of the committee members, the infrastructure of the society, and the objects of the society. In terms of gender differences in fundraising approach, the greatest contrast in approach between the male and female societies was in terms of the infrastructure at their disposal. The consequence of this was that the male societies had a wider network of supporters to solicit funds from. This chapter, firstly, examines shared standards of financial administration before going on discuss the different approaches to fundraising.

2. Financial Administration

The diocesan home-missionary organisations in this study were entirely reliant upon a regular flow of private donations for their survival. They needed therefore to implement strategies that would maintain a public profile in order to generate a regular flow of support from the Anglican laity. Ranked in terms of financial stature, the male organisations in this study had a much larger income. The BLF generally had an annual income of between £20,000 and £30,000; ELCF £15,000 to £20,000; LDHM £4,000 to £5,000; PMWA £4,000 to £5,000; and LDDI £1,500 to £2,000. And finally, the LHA had an annual income of around £300 to £400

in order to cover its administrative costs. For the purpose of comparison, the average annual income in this period of the interdenominational LCM was £45,000 to £55,000; and the Evangelical SRA raised around £10,000 per annum.⁴ These sums were all dwarfed by the incomes of the large foreign-missionary societies which had annual income in excess of £100,000.⁵ These annual incomes figures are therefore an initial indication of the size of the collecting infrastructure of the societies.

Voluntary organisations, which raised their funds through subscriptions, were not subject to any regulation. The Charity Commission was set up in 1853 to investigate, regulate and reorganise endowed charities, but it was not until 1960 that the Charity Commission's responsibilities were enlarged to include voluntary organisations that raised their money from subscriptions.⁶ The organisations selected for this study operated to a high standard of professionalism and all had bank accounts and audited annual reports. Payments to the organisation were made either directly to the society's office or through the society's bank. The BLF was the only organisation to have multiple bank accounts in order to make payments more convenient for the donor. These subsidiary accounts were cleared monthly or quarterly into its main account with Herries Farquhar and Company. This multiple bank account model had been set up by the MCF and was continued by the LDCBS.⁷ The male societies all had a paid administrative secretary and an office to conduct the administrative aspects of the organisation. In addition, the male societies all demonstrated good business practice, having reserve funds, funds placed on deposit or invested in stock, clear budgets and very little

⁴ To give these income figures a modern day comparative value, £10,000 in the latter half of the nineteenth century equates to about £500,000 today.

⁵ Examples taken from *The Classified Directory to the Metropolitan Charities* (1876): CMS £175,840; London Missionary Society £103,550; SPG £134,830; Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society £184,000.

⁶ Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p. 17; Owen, *English Philanthropy*: see Chapter 7 'The "Domesday Book" and the Charity Commission'.

⁷ *Third MCF Annual Report*, p. 32.

evidence of malpractice. These mechanisms highlight the high level of financial professionalism maintained by the male organisations.

In respect of the female societies, the PMWA also had a rented office and paid administrative secretary. The LDDI, because of its residential aspect, managed all of its financial and administrative aspects in-house. Its administration and finances were, nevertheless, still effectively managed. Susan Mumm's endeavours to analyse the finances of the sisterhoods stalled because of the sisterhoods' neglect of record-keeping, lack of good business practice and general 'fiscal ineptitude'.⁸ In contrast, the LDDI presents an exceptional example in its adherence to good business practice from the outset. It had a finance committee, bank account, printed annual reports (including accounts produced by the society's treasurer), and the position of LDDI treasurer was held by a succession of wealthy businessmen or clergymen. The only society in this study which sometimes gave the impression of a lax financial operation was the PMWA which made regular use of its overdraft facility and at one point seemed to be slightly confused regarding the way that interest was charged on its overdraft.⁹ The Lady Managers of the PMWA had a Gentlemen's Committee of Reference to assist them with financial matters. The committee mainly consisted of the husbands, fathers and brothers of the Lady Managers. Luddy highlights this trait of men overseeing the financial affairs of female charities.¹⁰ Examples of matters dealt with by the PMWA's Gentlemen's Committee include the investment of assets, dealing with the fraud committed by the society's secretary, setting a limit on the society's expenditure, advising on the ideal size of the society's reserve fund, and advising on suitable courses of action to deal with the society's longstanding

⁸ Susan Mumm, *Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers: Anglican Sisterhoods in Victorian Britain* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), pp. 80-81. Mumm's study is based on all of the Anglican sisterhoods that gave her access to their archives and does not include the LDDI.

⁹ LPL Ms. 1693, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1909-16, 13 May 1915.

¹⁰ Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 177.

overdraft. These administrative arrangements suggest that the female societies operated on a rather more semi-domestic and less professional level.

The principal way of publicising the charitable organisation was through the printed annual report, which all of the organisations chosen for this study produced.¹¹ The annual report acted, in a business sense, as a marketing tool for the voluntary organisation by publicising all the good works that the organisation had achieved in the past year and by emphasising how these were dependent upon a regular flow of income. A typical annual report contained the following: a list of trustees; a list of objects of the fund; rules of the fund; a full list of subscribers; a list of bequests; a report of the good work of the fund for the previous year; summary of grants made; and a summary of the annual accounts. The BLF's annual report for 1872, for example, ran to an epic 279 pages. The annual reports of the LDDI and PMWA were much smaller affairs; the PMWA report for 1865 ran to only 24 pages. These annual reports were produced for the societies' annual meetings which were part of the Season's calendar of 'May Meetings'. In the case of the larger organisations, such as the BLF, LDHM and ELCF, the annual meeting was regularly reported in newspapers such as *The Times*. The publication of the annual report, in conjunction with the public annual meeting, was therefore both a way of reporting on progress and expenditure in the previous year and a way of soliciting money for the future.

Both the male and female societies made every effort to solicit charitable bequests; they did this by including the formal form of wording to make a bequest in their annual report. The charitable bequest provided the voluntary organisations with an important additional income stream that could either be spent or invested. A survey in *The Times* in 1899 suggested that an

¹¹ The LDDI annual report ceased in 1887 when it was absorbed into the society's magazine *Ancilla Domini*.

average of £1,250,000 was being left annually as charitable bequests.¹² David Owen suggests that a higher figure of £2,000,000 a year is a more likely figure for this period.¹³ Research on charitable bequests and wills made in this period has concluded that women were more likely than men to leave a substantial percentage of their estate to charity. Owen's analysis of the 466 wills (316 men and 150 women) published in the *Telegraph* between 1891 and 1898 found that women generally bequeathed a higher proportion of their estate to charity: in his analysis women bequeathed 25 per cent of their estate to charity, whereas men bequeathed a smaller 11 per cent.¹⁴ Likewise, Prochaska's sample analysis of one hundred wills from the 1860s also showed that women gave a larger proportion of their estate to charity. He found that women bequeathed 13 per cent of their estate to charity compared to men bequeathing 3 per cent. He also found that spinsters bequeathed an even higher proportion of 15 per cent.¹⁵ An analysis of a sample of 87 individuals who left money to the societies in this study also confirms these findings. This analysis found that the bequests from women accounted for 15 per cent of their estates; the comparative figure for men was that they gave away 4 per cent of their estates in charitable bequests. *The Times* reported that there were two main sources of charitable bequests. These were individuals that had been charitable during their lifetime and individuals without dependents.¹⁶ Analysis of the bequests to organisations in this study shows that at least 40 per cent of bequests came from individuals who had been either donors or subscribers to the society concerned.¹⁷ In addition, the analysis also shows that the bequests

¹² *The Times*, 25 September 1899, p. 5.

¹³ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 471.

¹⁴ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 471. As Owen's analysis is based on newspaper reports of large bequests, it only includes very wealthy people who left charitable bequests of a noteworthy size in their wills.

¹⁵ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, pp. 34-35. Prochaska's analysis of wills in the 1840s gives very similar figures to mine because his analysis was also of individual's whose names appeared in the legacy lists in annual reports.

¹⁶ *The Times*, 25 September 1899, p. 5.

¹⁷ In reality the actual figure is higher as it has not been possible to always categorically link the identity in the subscription with the legator identity. For example, it is impossible to know whether Mrs Jane Morgan (the legator) is the same identity as Mrs Morgan (the subscriber).

from women were mainly from spinsters.¹⁸ This confirms the suggestion in *The Times* that people without dependents were more charitable. It also suggests that the societies that had a larger number of female subscribers would garner a larger number of bequests. The female organisations, whose supporter base was predominantly female, only occasionally received bequests throughout the period: the PMWA received 18; and the LDDI received 13. In contrast, the two large male organisations regularly received bequests making them an important source of annual funding: the BLF received 172; the ELCF 74 and the LDHM only 17 (see Table 5.1).¹⁹ In total, 294 bequests were left to the BLF, LDHM, LDDI, PMWA and ELCF in the period 1860 to 1914; these bequests relate to 268 people. The interdenominational LCM, in the equivalent period of 1860 to 1914, received a significantly larger number of 2,084 bequests.²⁰ The key factor in determining the volume of bequests received by any society was, therefore, the size of collecting infrastructure. The societies that had a geographically wide collecting infrastructure gained in two ways through their wide subscriber and legator funder-base.²¹ This factor was more important than the gender balance of the financial supporters.

The diocesan home-missionary organisations examined in this study were entirely reliant upon a regular flow of private donations for their survival. They needed therefore to implement strategies that would maintain a public profile in order to generate a regular flow of support from the Anglican laity that would sustain their financial needs on an annual basis. In order to achieve this, they represented themselves and operated in a precise and business like manner:

¹⁸ I was able to identify 145 of the 176 women who made bequests to the organisations in this study. 105 were single; 31 were widowed; 7 were married and 2 were divorced. See Table 5.1 in Appendix to compare male and female bequests.

¹⁹ To compare the number of bequests with the typical annual number of supporters see Tables 2.11 to 2.15, and 6.2.

²⁰ Analysis of specific bequest details for the male and female societies follows in Chapters 5.

²¹ The term 'legator' has been used in preference to 'testator' because not all of the legacies given were as a result of a formal instruction in a will. For example, Lady Hatherley's legacy referred to in Chapter 5.

they published annual reports to coincide with their public annual meetings; they produced audited accounts; the societies' treasurers were professional men, usually high-status bankers; and generally they employed administrative staff. The male and female societies were, therefore, very similar in the way that they conducted their financial administration. They differed, however, in the ways that they raised and solicited money; this was to a great extent determined by the collecting infrastructure at their disposal. The following section will examine the different approaches that the male and female societies took in order to engage with existing and potential financial supporters.

3. Fundraising Strategy

3.1 Promotional Activities

The Use of the Bishop and the Bishop's Wife

One of the most powerful promotional tools at the disposal of the male voluntary organisations was the Bishop of London, or in the case of the ELCF the appropriate Suffragan Bishop. Principally, the Bishop, through his patronage, gave the organisation official sanction. People could, therefore, feel confident in the fact that they were giving their money to a trusted organisation which was acting within diocesan guidelines. The Bishop acted in an official capacity as President to the BLF and LDHM, and Patron of the ELCF (the Suffragan Bishop acting as President). He could publicise the organisation's good works by speaking at annual meetings and public meetings and through the Bishop's charge (delivered every four years). Bishop Jackson, for example, in his 1884 charge, gave updated statistical information on the work of the LDHM and BLF, and wrote about the value of lay helpers, deaconesses and

parochial mission women.²² The Bishop could also issue pastoral letters on the organisation's behalf.²³ He was, therefore a powerful advocate for the diocesan organisations.

The female societies also made some use of the Bishop as a promotional tool and figurehead. He could publicise the organisation's good works at meetings; both the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Stepney spoke on behalf of the PMWA at annual meetings.²⁴ The PMWA committee list reproduced in their annual reports stated that they worked under the official sanction of the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury.²⁵ In addition, the Bishop acted in an official capacity as Visitor to the LDDI. However, the Bishop's wife was the most prominent ally in promoting the work of the female organisations, particularly in her role as the Vice-President of the LDA. Beatrice Temple became Lady President of the LDDI on her husband's promotion to the Bishopric of London; her role was to support the work of the society by publicising its work. In 1887, for example, she presided over a large meeting of about 200 persons at Fulham Palace.²⁶ And in 1888, the High Church Canon John Festing (1837-1902) spoke of the work of the PMWA at a LDA meeting presided over by Mrs Temple.²⁷ This suggests that the female societies had easier access to the Bishop's wife and also that her role was suited to the more domestic events, such as opening jumble sales, carried out by the female societies.

²² John Jackson, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, at his Fourth Visitation* (London: Skeffington, 1884), pp. 9-18.

²³ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/02, BLF Executive Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1863-66, 25 April 1864.

²⁴ *LDM*, December 1895, p. 438; June 1898, p. 180.

²⁵ *Sixth PMWA Annual Report*.

²⁶ *AD*, No. 1, March 1887, p. 4. See also *AD*, No. 31, April 1895, p. 192.

²⁷ Festing became the Bishop of St Albans in 1890. LPL Ms. 1688, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1887-90, 17 May 1888 and 7 June 1888.

The Use of Diocesan Publicity Material

In addition to self promotion, the diocese itself also made efforts to support its own voluntary organisations. This was part of the overall ‘diocesan revival’ of the nineteenth century which saw the diocese develop its own ‘diocesan consciousness’ through a process of church reform.²⁸ This reinvigoration involved the creation of new dioceses and the reorganisation of existing dioceses, the revival of rural deaneries, the development of the office of archdeacon, the creation of suffragan bishops, the creation of diocesan organisations (such as the LDCBS), more effective use of visitation returns, and the development of diocesan conferences.²⁹ In 1884, the Funds Committee of the London Diocesan Conference reported on the subject of the organisation and finances of the Church’s diocesan voluntary organisations. This committee recommended the publication of a diocesan periodical which would act as publicity for the work of the diocesan organisations.³⁰ In consequence, a monthly periodical called the *London Diocesan Magazine* was published from May 1886. Its contents were principally articles about the work and income of the diocesan organisations, but it also included general diocesan news, obituaries, reports on bequests, and reports of diocesan conferences and the Bishop’s charge. The magazine was thus an excellent marketing tool: some of the organisations, such as the LDA and LHA, used it as their principal means of communication. The LDA used the *London Diocesan Magazine* to report on their annual meeting; on the state of their finances; details of the annual excursion; appointments and resignations; workers wanted for certain positions; and a programme of events. Notices for the larger organisations, LDHM, BLF and ELCF, focused mainly on finance: the state of the funds; lists of large donations; and grants paid out. Notices from the LDDI and PMWA in the *London Diocesan Magazine* were rare, though notices from the PMWA increased at the start of the twentieth century when their income was

²⁸ Burns, *The Diocesan Revival*, p. 6.

²⁹ The diocesan revival continued into the twentieth century. See Chapter 7 which covers the establishment of the diocese as a financial unit.

³⁰ London Diocesan Conference, *Report of the Funds Committee, 1883-84* (London, 1884?), p. 3.

declining. This suggests that the male organisations made fuller use of the diocesan tools at their disposal.

The Use of Advertising and Publications

The male organisations, such as the BLF, advertised regularly in the classified advertising pages of the newspapers. For example, in 1869 the BLF advertised in papers such as, *The Times*, *Morning Post*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Echo*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Standard*, *Rock and City Press*, *Daily News*, and *Star*.³¹ In some cases adverts were used to publicise special events. For example, the LDHM advertised its special services for the working-class, in December 1857, in *The Times*, the *High Church Guardian* and the *Evangelical Record*.³² The PMWA was the society that made the greatest use of advertising and direct mail to solicit new subscriptions.³³ The PMWA advertised widely across periodicals and newspapers that represented all Church parties. The PMWA advertised in *The Times*, the *High Church Guardian*, *Record*, *Morning Post*, *Philanthropist*, *Charity Record*, *Charity Organisation Society Annual Report*, *Guide to Church Congress*, *Mackeson's Guide to the Churches in London*, *Quarterly Review*, *Englishwoman's Yearbook*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, and the *London Diocese Book*. From November 1908, with diminishing funds the PMWA cut back on its advertising because of poor results.³⁴ This thereby perpetuated its decline as it was no longer financially able to promote itself widely. The minute books of the PMWA repeatedly record the thoroughness of the society's attempts to publicise the society's work.³⁵ For example, on finding in 1890 that the PMWA had not been mentioned in Charles Booth's

³¹ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/03, BLF Finance Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1863-77, 19 July 1869 and 30 August 1869.

³² LMA Ms. DL/A/H/MS31992, LDHM Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1857-87, 23 December 1857.

³³ LPL Ms. 1689, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1890-94, 14 December 1893.

³⁴ LPL Ms. 1692, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1904-09, 19 November 1908.

³⁵ The Minute Book recorded the society's dissatisfaction at the size of their entry in Angela Burdett-Coutts (ed.), *Woman's Mission: A Series of Congress Papers on the Philanthropic Work of Women by Eminent Writers* (London: Sampson Low Marston, 1893), p. 140 and p. 411. LPL Ms. 1689, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1890-94, 5 May 1892; 12 May 1892; 15 June 1893; 22 June 1893.

(1840-1916) *Life and Labour*, the PMWA arranged an interview with Booth to ensure their inclusion in future editions; the interview with Booth occurred in March 1890 and the PMWA minutes recorded that Major Fitzroy (from the Gentlemen's Committee of Reference) had 'had a satisfactory interview with Mr Booth, who had been very glad to hear about PMW and had read the report with great interest'.³⁶ In addition, the organisations also wrote letters to the editors of the newspapers to canvass for subscriptions or detail their good work. For example, William Macdonald Sinclair (1850-1917), Archdeacon of London, wrote a letter to the editor of *The Times* in 1906 promoting an appeal that the Bishop of London had just launched on behalf of the BLF. Sinclair's letter emphasised the close relationship between the City and the BLF, in terms of City organisations and City bankers.³⁷ The PMWA was also successful in having several letters to the editor published in *The Times*.³⁸ In contrast to the other organisations the LDDI did not have any editorial letters published. The common factor in these letters to editors and entries in books was that societies used high-status supporters to leverage publicity for the society's good works.

Two of the voluntary organisations bore the expense of producing their own magazine, which was sent out to their supporters or to individuals that subscribed to the issue. The ELCF published a quarterly magazine, called the *East End Church Chronicle*, which it published from 1888. And the LDDI, from 1887, produced a quarterly magazine *Ancilla Domini* (which translates as 'handmaid of the Lord'); the LDDI used its magazine as a substitute for advertising. These magazines gave the organisations the opportunity to talk about their work on a much more detailed level and with a more engaging anecdotal tone thereby keeping their supporters actively involved in its work on a regular basis. These magazines also gave the

³⁶ LPL Ms. 1688, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1887-90, 6 February 1890; 20 March 1890.

³⁷ *The Times*, 17 May 1906, p. 4. For a LDHM example, see *The Times*, 18 May 1898, p. 9. For an ELCF example, see *Daily News*, 2 November 1883, p. 3.

³⁸ For example: *The Times*, 26 November 1864, p. 10; 23 May 1888, p. 11; 3 December 1894, p. 3.

organisation the opportunity to speak directly to their supporters about lack of funds. The ELCF, in particular, often had quite desperately worded front covers. The most dramatic was the issue of December 1909 on which the front cover simply stated (in large letters filling the page):

URGENT. If the present grants to be made by the Fund are to be continued and not reduced, £2,500 must be received before the books for 1909 close on JANUARY 12th. The matter is really urgent. Please send a contribution to The Secretary.³⁹

The organisations that did not have their own magazine published ‘Occasional Papers’ to publicise their work. This was the method preferred by the BLF; for example, in June 1868, the BLF used these occasional papers as a marketing device, sending a paper to 1,449 subscribers (to other religious societies) who did not give to them.⁴⁰ In the later period (after 1890), the BLF produced a regular illustrated booklet showcasing the work it had completed in the previous year, with case studies on individual churches.⁴¹ Booklets were also produced to publicise the jubilees of both the BLF and LDHM; these reported in functional terms the achievements of the societies over the decades.⁴²

In contrast, the female societies made more use of emotive ‘success stories’ in their publications in order to raise funds by engaging emotionally with the reader. These stirring stories recounted the reclamation of the fallen. For example, the PMWA wrote a series of articles for the periodical *Mission Life* which publicised the work of the society through such ‘success stories’. This PMWA success story was followed directly with an emotive plea for funds:

³⁹ *ELCC*, Vol. 21, No. 4, December 1909, p. 1.

⁴⁰ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/03, BLF Finance Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1863-77, 22 June 1868 and 20 July 1868.

⁴¹ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/03, BLF Finance Committee Minute Book, Vol. 3 1889-1902, 15 December 1890. For an example see: BLF, *The Bishop of London's Fund for Making Further Provision for the Spiritual Needs of the Diocese of London* (London, 1913).

⁴² BLF, *Origin of the BLF*; Walsh, *Progress of the Church in London* (1887); William Walsh, *Progress of the Church in London: From the Accession of Queen Victoria to 1908* (London: SPCK, 1908).

Mrs K (Mission-woman) is particularly successful with the fallen girls, and they let her go amongst them, in their own haunts, where no respectable person ever went. There is a vast deal of drunkenness too to contend with, and Mrs K has been a most valuable helper to the Clergy in watching over cases where a beginning had been made in better ways, and there were temptations to relax. Her strongest point of all is her earnestness in bringing people to Baptism, never leaving them till she had brought the children and all the members of the family who had not yet been baptized. The numbers she has brought could hardly be counted.⁴³

The male and female societies approached their readership in different ways. The male societies made more use of functional reporting; they listed the number of churches built, missionaries employed and districts formed. Although the female societies also reported in this way on the good works in the previous year, they were likely to supplement this information with the use of stirring success stories and emotional pleas that would hopefully tug at both the heart strings and the purse strings. This may have been because the committees of the societies were female (or partly female) or because they were aware that such an approach would engage their female funder-base.

The Use of Distinguished Patronage and Drawing-room Meetings

Distinguished patronage was also an important boost to any organisation whether in terms of donor or committee member. Patronage from a member of the royal family gave a huge advantage to the society's chances of survival; it was a badge of success and legitimacy.⁴⁴ Likewise, public meetings held at the homes of prominent personages and with prominent speakers would also guarantee a higher attendance. The Duke of Westminster lent Grosvenor House for many charitable drawing-room meetings; including the BLF, PMWA, LCM, Bishop

⁴³ *Mission Life*, 1878, Vol. 9, Part 2, p. 455. *Mission Life* (published between 1866 and 1885) was an Anglican periodical which sought to impartially represent the work of all missionary societies; with a particular emphasis on foreign mission. See *AD*, No. 4, July 1888, pp. 54-55 for an LDDI example.

⁴⁴ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 166.

of St. Albans' Fund, Rochester Diocesan Association and the Church Army.⁴⁵ Attendance at these prominent London meetings was by invitation or by ticket only; in contrast with the annual service which was open to all.⁴⁶ Notices regarding the society's meeting would be placed in the Court Circular column of *The Times* or would be placed in the classified adverts. These notices would often mention who would be chairing the meeting and who the speakers would be.⁴⁷ The LDHM held most of its public meetings at London House or at the homes of its leading supporters: Granville Augustus William Waldegrave, third Baron Radstock (1833–1913); Arthur Fitzgerald Kinnaird, eleventh Lord Kinnaird; and the business man George Moore (1806–76).⁴⁸ Charles Dickens (1812–1870) satirises the use of distinguished patronage in *Our Mutual Friend* (1865). The nouveau riche Mr Boffin is targeted by a charity which invites him to become a steward in return for the minimum fee of three guineas. The invitation to subscribe is by means of a 'large fat double letter, sealed with ducal coronet' from the Duke of Linseed. Likewise, another charity informs Mr Boffin of the offer from a lady to donate £20 if ten other individuals offer the large sum of £100; this letter comes from 'two noble Earls and a Viscount'.⁴⁹ Other popular venues for public meetings were Fulham Palace (the residence of the Bishop of London) and Mansion House (the official residence of the Lord Mayor of the City of London). Meetings were also held at the Mansion House for both the LDDI and PMWA.⁵⁰ Meetings held at City venues, such as Mansion House, were generally

⁴⁵ *LDM*, May 1893, p. 150; LPL Ms. 1689, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1890–94, 7 April 1892; *The Times*, 14 May 1891, p. 9; *The Times*, 26 May 1894, p. 12; *The Times*, 4 March 1899, p. 4; *The Times* 12 December 1904, p. 9.

⁴⁶ *LDM*, May 1893, p. 150; 1889 July, p. 73. For an example see LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/010, BLF bundle of Secretary's correspondence.

⁴⁷ *The Times* 23 April 1904, p. 13.

⁴⁸ LMA Ms. DL/A/H/MS31992, LDHM Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1857–87, 26 June 1861; 8 February 1866.

⁴⁹ Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*, (1865, London: Chapman and Hall, Daily News Memorial edition, 1900), p. 173.

⁵⁰ *AD*, No. 2, November 1887, p. 17; LPL Ms. 1687, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1879–82, 1 June 1882; 13 July 1882.

for the purpose of appealing to wealthy men and City firms.⁵¹ The small local association drawing-room meetings held by the male societies in the provinces would have been more informal in character. Likewise the drawing-room meetings for the LDDI and PMWA were generally more of a domestic affair and were held in the home of a supporter or committee member. For example, the PMWA held drawing-room meetings in the homes of Mrs Jay (the wife of Willie Parkinson Jay, an Eastbourne incumbent who had previously been Vicar of Christ Church, Watney Street).⁵² The purpose of these meetings was to draw individuals together with the express aim of publicising the society's work and thereby gaining new subscribers.

The female societies made most use of their distinguished patrons in the opening of special events. If possible, the PMWA would arrange for a prominent society lady to open a fundraising exhibition in order to ensure a good turn out. For example, in 1913 the PMWA art exhibition was opened by Queen Amelia of Portugal on the first day and by Princess Lichnowsky, wife of the German Ambassador, on the second day.⁵³ In addition, in February 1893 a Grand Concert in aid of the LDDI's Lily Mission was held at Paddington Baths in Bayswater. The distinguished lady patronesses included: Janet Sinclair, Countess of Caithness (1829-1906); Georgina Gascoyne-Cecil, Marchioness of Salisbury (1827-1899) and wife of the High Church Prime Minister; and Beatrice Temple.⁵⁴ The financial value of such prestigious patronage can be demonstrated by the fact that the PMWA's art exhibitions with prominent patronage were the society's most financially successful events. The use of a distinguished person or their home in connection to a society's event was important to draw in

⁵¹ *LDM*, June 1906, pp. 176-77.

⁵² LPL Ms. 1690, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1894-98, 21 March 1895; 31 Mar 1898; Ms. 1692, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1904-09, 23 March 1905 and 6 May 1909.

⁵³ *Daily Express*, 13 February 1913, p. 4.

⁵⁴ *AD*, No. 22, January 1893, p. 39. See also *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1 July 1877, pp. 341-42.

a guaranteed audience. The societies made different use of these attractions. The male societies used the homes of high-status individuals for meetings. In contrast, the female societies used these individuals to draw crowds at events which raised money.

3.2 Collecting Money

Local and Regional Associations

In addition to promoting its work, the charitable organisation needed various networks to collect its funds. The most useful tool for the larger male societies was the local association. The role of the local associations was not just to provide donations; they also held public meetings and generally drummed up support. The interdenominational LCM was supreme in this area, having a comprehensive network of nearly 350 local associations nationwide (including Scotland and Ireland).⁵⁵ Within the voluntary organisations selected for this study, the ELCF had the most vigorous network of the local associations; these were mainly (about three-quarters) organised by the laity. The ELCF collecting infrastructure grew rapidly between 1890 and 1910. In 1890 it had a few small associations in provincial towns; these were mainly organised by individual churches rather than large-scale systematic associations. By 1910 its network had greatly expanded with fully formed associations which collected local subscriptions, mainly in the south east and south west. In addition, there were a few further out, in places such as Malvern, Newmarket and Ross-on-Wye. The number of ELCF provincial associations, at nearly 30, was still very modest compared to the LCM. Unlike the LCM, the ELCF local associations were contained to the south and south west of England. The ELCF also received more coverage in regional newspapers than the BLF; mentions of the BLF in regional newspapers were rare after its initial decade.⁵⁶ It is likely that the ELCF

⁵⁵ See Table 6.1 for details of LCM income streams.

⁵⁶ Examples: *The Royal Cornwall Gazette Falmouth Packet*, 22 December 1898, p. 3; *Western Mail*, 18 January 1899, p. 7; *The Yorkshire Herald*, 7 November 1890, p. 4.

magazine was in part responsible for geographically spreading word of the ELCF's good works. The regional newspaper reports relating to the ELCF's work can easily be seen to be based on articles in the *East London Church Chronicle*.

The ELCF local associations based in sea-side towns (such as Bournemouth, Eastbourne and Torquay) were particularly vigorous in publicising the plight of the East End poor to the local residents. Bishop Walsham-How regularly undertook annual preaching tours of these towns, as did his successors. For example, in 1899, the ELCF held campaigns in Eastbourne and Torquay: sermons were preached in six Eastbourne churches and four in Torquay.⁵⁷ In 1906 the Bournemouth campaign was financially very successful, raising over £900 for the ELCF.⁵⁸ These funds raised by the seaside towns were so important that in 1908, the ELCF reported that if it were not for Brighton and Hove 'the Fund would indeed be in a sorry plight'.⁵⁹ Such campaigning visits by the Bishop, on behalf of the ELCF, were still being held at the end of the period: the Bishop of Stepney visited Torquay in 1914.⁶⁰ The most successful ELCF provincial associations were in Bournemouth, Tunbridge Wells, Brighton, Eastbourne and Torquay.⁶¹ An incidental outcome for the ELCF was that they also harvested bequests from members of the local association; of the 58 traceable bequests to the ELCF, 11 had addresses that related to the largest provincial local associations, such as Eastbourne and Bournemouth. An example of a bequest to the ELCF which can be identified as coming from an ex-Londoner, came from a wealthy widow Elizabeth Mason (1826-1907) who was born in the parish of St George-in-the-East. Mrs Mason gave her bequest in response to the Bishop's visit to her seaside town of St Leonards-on-Sea, near Hastings. She left a £1,000 bequest to the

⁵⁷ *ELCC*, Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1889, p. 4.

⁵⁸ *ELCC*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Easter 1906, p. 7.

⁵⁹ *LDM*, December 1908, p. 373.

⁶⁰ *Daily Express*, 3 January 1913, p. 4.

⁶¹ Examples taken from the ELCF 1910 accounts year: Bournemouth £1,010; Tunbridge Wells £512; Brighton £428; Eastbourne £387 and Torquay £358.

ELCF and an additional £20,000, jointly to the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Stepney. The bequest was to provide a church, hall and vicarage in a poor district in north east London, plus an endowment.⁶² These regional associations were, therefore, of vital importance to sustaining the finances of the ELCF.

The ELCF connection with these provincial towns is due to two factors. Firstly, the spa towns and seaside towns were middle-class enclaves: many of these towns had been developed by the landed gentry on their own lands. This was the case, for example, in Tunbridge Wells, Eastbourne, Torquay and Bournemouth.⁶³ These towns were developed to appeal to middle and upper-classes with assembly rooms, theatres, public parks with bandstands, promenades and wide tree lined roads.⁶⁴ The south coast of Devon was marketed in the nineteenth century as a winter resort. This was because its mild climate made it ideal for those suffering from lung diseases.⁶⁵ Such factors made these towns popular destinations for retirement.⁶⁶ Writing in 1917, Robert Chancellor Nesbitt (1868-1944), a solicitor and High Church layman, commented that the ELCF had made 'valuable connections' in towns such as Brighton, Eastbourne, Bournemouth and Torquay 'where so many Londoners reside'.⁶⁷ In addition, a connection with London incumbencies is the other explanation for this establishment of a local association.⁶⁸ The LCM also raised money from these middle-class seaside and spa towns. The

⁶² *The Times*, 27 February 1911, p. 7. Her estate was valued at £115,228. The church that was built with this funding was St Martin's Church in Lower Edmonton.

⁶³ David Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1980), p. 63.

⁶⁴ Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords*, p. 72; John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History, 1750-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983), p. 105.

⁶⁵ John F. Travis, *The Rise of the Devon Seaside Resorts, 1750-1900* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1993), p. 116.

⁶⁶ Travis, *The Rise of the Devon Seaside Resorts*, p. 116.

⁶⁷ Robert Chancellor Nesbitt, *Church Finance, with Reference to the Diocese of London* (London, 1917), p. 5

⁶⁸ For example, Charles Edward Ricketts Robinson (d.1881), Vicar of St John's Church in Torquay (from 1870), had formerly been the Chaplain of Price's Patent Candle Factory in London (between 1852 and 1855). The Honorary Secretary of the Brighton and Hove Association of the ELCF, Ridley Daniel Tyssen (1840-1917), Vicar of St Patrick Hove (between 1885 and 1904), had formerly been Rector of South Hackney (between 1871 and 1885) and was described as having 'a large place in his heart for East London ever since.' *LDM*, August

most successful LCM local associations were based in Bournemouth, Leamington Spa, Eastbourne, Torquay and Cheltenham.⁶⁹ The plight of the East End of London was prominently in the national public eye in this period. This was especially so in the 1880s with the publication of *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* in 1883;⁷⁰ the sensation of William Thomas Stead's (1849-1912) exposé of child prostitution in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1885; and the notoriety of the Jack the Ripper murders in the period 1888 to 1891. For example, the *London City Mission Magazine*, in 1884, expressed its thanks to the Bournemouth branch which had, in response to the publication of *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, promised to finance two missionaries in 'outcast districts'. In response to this proposal, the LCM offered to send a deputation to any other town interested in the society's work.⁷¹ The particular connection that the LCM and ELCF both had with the East End of London is the most plausible explanation for their success in raising funds from the provinces.

In contrast, the BLF was a fund for the whole of the diocese and did not employ the East End as a valuable marketing tool, in the same way as the LCM and ELCF. The BLF had a very limited network of local associations. Initially, the local organisations were a piecemeal affair. In 1876 the BLF had 36 small church-based local associations mainly in the north and west of London. These included Kensington, Hampstead, Westminster, Chelsea, Notting Hill, Bloomsbury, Brompton, St Marylebone and Paddington. Poorer areas of London were also represented with local associations in Islington and Spitalfields.⁷² In 1893, the BLF expanded its small network of local associations systematically throughout the diocese by appointing a

1904, p. 237. The connection to Ross-on-Wye came through Bishop Winnington-Ingram whose brother Edward Henry Winnington-Ingram (1849-1930) was Rector of Ross. *LDM*, September 1903, p. 279.

⁶⁹ Examples taken from the LCM 1889/1890 account year: Bournemouth £188; Leamington Spa £173; Eastbourne £163; Torquay £148 and Cheltenham £137.

⁷⁰ Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (London: James Clarke, 1883). See Chapter 7.

⁷¹ *LCM Magazine*, No. 567, 1 February 1884, p. 40.

⁷² *Thirteenth BLF Annual Report*, pp. 90-99. St Stephen's Church (the collecting church in Spitalfields) had received grants for its school and for the cost of a scripture-reader and parochial mission woman.

clergyman as honorary organising secretaries for each of the rural deaneries.⁷³ This means that, in great contrast to the LCM and ELCF, the BLF did not have any local associations outside the diocese and did not actively solicit funds from the seaside and spa towns. The LDHM, in contrast, did not have any local associations.

The female societies had very limited support in terms of a collecting infrastructure. The PMWA had two local associations in the form of its Northern Fund (covering Northumberland) and Western Fund (covering Cornwall and Devon) which acted to fund mission women in these regions; these regional funds were organised by friends and family relations of PMWA committee members and were quite small in scale.⁷⁴ In the mid 1890s, Arundall Whatton (Curate of All Saints, Notting Hill) acted as the organising secretary of the LDDI and arranged occasional meetings. For example, in 1894 he arranged meetings in Folkestone, Clifton and Fulham Palace.⁷⁵ These initiatives were principally the efforts of individuals rather than on the large and systematic scale of the male organisations. Consequently, these efforts were not as vital in funding terms to the female organisations.

Female Associations

In addition to local associations, many of the male societies had female associations that raised awareness on behalf of the society and collected funds on its behalf.⁷⁶ The use of female auxiliary groups to fundraise for male societies had a long tradition and was a precursor of the establishment of female societies. Martin Gorsky calls these women the ‘footsoldiers of

⁷³ *LDM*, April 1893, pp. 111-16.

⁷⁴ The *Fifty-Ninth PMWA Annual Report* (covering the year 1917/18) lists only seven contributions for the Western Fund and ten for the Northern Fund.

⁷⁵ *AD*, No. 26, January 1894, p. 96.

⁷⁶ None of the organisations had children’s associations that collected funds on their behalf. The Girls’ Diocesan Association (GDA) was not a children’s association. Their definition of ‘girl’ was females aged 19 to 35.

organisations managed by men'.⁷⁷ The earliest female auxiliary groups dated to the turn of the century: the Hibernian Church Missionary Society (1799), Baptist Missionary Society (1805), Irish Evangelical Society (1806).⁷⁸ The LDA had since its inception (in 1864) been supportive of the BLF; but this connection was particularly reinforced with the reinvigoration of the LDA, as the WDA, under Louise Creighton. In 1900, the WDA took on, at the request of the Bishop, an increased responsibility for raising money for the BLF and for publicising its works. The association appointed a second Honorary Secretary with this specific responsibility.⁷⁹ Contributions to the BLF through the WDA rose year-on-year between 1900 and 1911; in 1911 the WDA contributed £708.⁸⁰ In August 1905 the GDA joined the WDA in supporting the BLF.⁸¹ The ELCF established, in 1893, a women's association called 'The Women's Union in aid of ELCF'.⁸² The female associations were important, therefore, in both promoting and financially supporting the male societies.

Like the male organisations, the female organisations also made full use of female associates as promoters and fundraisers. The LDDI had a band of ladies called associates or assistants who carried out work on behalf of the LDDI and raised money for it.⁸³ In the late 1880s and 1890s these associates numbered around 30 ladies; rising to 40 at the turn of the century. Virtually all of these associates were annual subscribers to the institutions.⁸⁴ The PMWA also had a band of associates that assisted them in their work and in fundraising on their behalf.⁸⁵

⁷⁷ Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p. 172; Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England*, p. 39.

⁷⁸ Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy*, pp. 54-57; Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 24.

⁷⁹ *LDM*, May 1900, p. 227.

⁸⁰ *Forty Ninth BLF Annual Report*, p. 171. For an example of a WDA collecting book see LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/010 BLF bundle of Secretary's correspondence.

⁸¹ *LDM*, August 1905, p. 250.

⁸² *ELCC*, Vol. 5, No. 2, June 1893, p. 11.

⁸³ Not to be confused with 'associate deaconesses' who were deaconesses that received the deaconess training but chose not to become a formal member of the community.

⁸⁴ *AD*, No. 6, January 1889, p. 96; No. 61, January 1903, p. 126.

⁸⁵ LPL Ms. 2664, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1883-86, 12 July 1883.

The associate would try to enlist new subscribers to collect small sums, assist with sales of works, and generally to raise the profile of the society.

Associations and Collecting Cards

These associations, both local and female, were particularly useful in raising funds through the use of collecting cards and collecting boxes. The only organisation that made wide-scale use of collecting cards and boxes was the ELCF which regularly received around 1,000 sums (typically for very small sums of less than £1) each year from this source. This was due to their proliferation of local associations.⁸⁶ In contrast, the LCM's use of collecting cards and boxes was surprisingly low considering the society's large-scale use of local associations. In the accounting year of 1859/60, the LCM elicited only 634 sums from that source. The voluntary collectors were predominantly women: on average 81 per cent of collecting cards for the ELCF came from women; 77 per cent for the LCM. Other than through the WDA, the BLF did not receive large amounts through the medium of collecting cards and boxes; only 50 sums contributed in 1867 came from that source. Surprisingly, the supporters of the female societies made little personal use of collecting cards or boxes. The PMWA annual reports only list a handful of collecting cards each year in their annual reports. The number of collecting cards for the LDDI peaked in the period 1871 to 1876 (at a rate of 20 to 40 each year), when the society was busy fundraising for the new LDDI building in Tavistock Crescent. In summary, collecting cards did not raise large sums for any of the organisations. Due to the small sums collected by this method (typically around ten shillings), this method of raising funds only ever accounted for a few hundred pounds at the most.

⁸⁶ In 1899, 898 sums came from collecting cards or boxes.

Instead of making use of local associations and female associations, the PMWA and LDDI were more likely to make use of a paid collector. The LDDI relied mainly on a paid collector until 1897 when the collector died; after this date all donations were sent directly to the Mother Superior at the home. The society had tried briefly in 1870, for a two-year period, to go without a paid collector but found that their finances suffered as a result.⁸⁷ The PMWA also employed two lady collectors in the 1870s, and in the 1880s they shared a collector with the Charity Organization Society (COS).⁸⁸ One possible explanation for the small number of collecting cards used is that women were less inclined to act as unpaid collectors when they could play an actual managerial role or practical role in the society's work. The male societies did not make much use of paid collectors presumably because they already had a complex network of local associations and female associations to collect money freely on their behalf. Neither of the two larger societies, the BLF and ELCF, employed paid collectors. In contrast, the LDHM, which had no local associations, employed a collector from 1866.⁸⁹ This suggests that the use of a paid collector was used as a substitute to a network of associations.

Church Collections

The fundraising methods discussed so far have all been concerned with raising the society's profile in order to encourage income from donations, subscriptions and bequests, the main streams of funding for such societies.⁹⁰ The other valuable source for the male societies was church collections, which had the double benefit of raising money and raising awareness of the society. This took two different forms. Firstly, each male society held an annual service (either at Westminster Abbey or at St. Paul's Cathedral) and at these an anniversary collection

⁸⁷ *Ninth LDDI Annual Report*, pp. 7-8; *Eleventh LDDI Annual Report*, pp. 8-9; *AD*, No. 41, October 1897, p. 15.

⁸⁸ LPL Ms. 1683, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1869-72, 20 June 1872; Ms. 2664, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1883-86, 18 March 1886.

⁸⁹ LMA Ms. DL/A/H/MS31992, LDHM Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1857-87, 14 June 1866.

⁹⁰ See Tables 1.1 to 1.5 in the Appendix for analysis of funding streams for each organisation.

would be held. Secondly, the larger societies such as the BLF and ELCF had a fixed Sunday when all churches within the diocese would be asked to collect for that specific charity.⁹¹ For example, the annual date for the BLF church collection was Rogation Sunday. The money raised annually by diocesan-wide church collections was significant in terms of income. For example, in 1893 the BLF raised £6,503 from church collections in 417 churches; in 1901 £7,096 from 480 churches.⁹² The ELCF raised over £1,200 from collections just held on 'ELCF Sunday' in 1889, and £6,043 in total over the year.⁹³ The LDHM requested that collections be held in churches that had previously been LDHM mission districts, but never raised particularly large sums from this source.⁹⁴ This situation ended in 1891 when the BLF and LDHM came to an arrangement whereby in return for a larger block grant, the LDHM would no longer have church collections carried out in its favour. Bishop Temple had instigated this measure because he recognised that these two diocesan societies were competing to solicit funds from the same sources.⁹⁵ The female societies raised only occasional sums of money from church collections, principally from the societies' annual service. The organisations also published the sermons that had been preached in their favour; these appeared in the society's occasional papers, annual reports and their own magazines. In addition, all of the societies had sermons printed as separate pamphlets; these would then be sold in order to raise funds and to publicise the society. In one more successful example, the popular preacher Henry Parry Liddon (1829-1890), Canon of St Paul's Cathedral, preached a sermon 'Phoebe in London' in aid of the PMWA at the Parish Church of Kensington in June 1877. The collection after the sermon raised £96; the PMWA then arranged for 500 copies of

⁹¹ The scale of these church collections is discussed in the next chapter.

⁹² *LDM*, April 1894, p. 129; May 1902, p. 162.

⁹³ *ELCC*, Vol. 2, No. 2, December 1889, p. 13. See balance sheet *Ninth ELCF Annual Report*.

⁹⁴ LMA Ms. DL/A/H/MS31992, LDHM Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1857-87, 13 March 1873.

⁹⁵ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/03, BLF Finance Committee Minute Book, Vol. 3 1889-1902, 22 June 1891.

the sermon to be printed which were then sold at one shilling each.⁹⁶ Sermons were also printed in magazines such as the *London Diocesan Magazine*.⁹⁷ Generally, the LDDI and PMWA only raised small amounts from church collections. In contrast, the income from church collections for the male societies made up a significant proportion of income. This reflected both the size of the collecting infrastructure behind the male societies and the weight of influence of the diocese and the Bishop.

3.3 Other Forms of Fundraising

Entertainment

The male societies did not raise many funds through forms of entertainment. Of the male societies, the ELCF has only a few mentions of fundraising through alternative means; these were mainly small initiatives carried out by schools. For example, in 1888 St John-at-Hackney Grammar School at Clapton held a performance of 'Christ and his Soldiers' in aid of the Fund.⁹⁸ Other than these few initiatives, the only other mention of entertainment fundraising was the offer in 1913 by Lady Katherine Fitzroy (1865-1933), wife of Sir Almeric William Fitzroy (1851-1935), for the ELCF to share in the profits of a dramatic performance. The minute book simply notes, with no explanation, that the 'Council decided that it would not be possible to accept the offer made by Lady Fitzroy of a share in the management and proceeds of a dramatic performance'.⁹⁹ There are only three references to the BLF having received

⁹⁶ LPL Ms. 1686, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1876-79, 27 June 1877. Other prominent speakers who preached in aid of the PMWA: in 1871, the Reverend Charles Kingsley (1819-1875) at the Chapel Royal in Whitehall; and in 1873, Edward White Benson (1829-1896), then Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral. See W. Harrison (ed.), *All Saints' Day and Other Sermons by the Rev. Charles Kingsley* (London: Macmillan, 1890), pp. 395-410; Edward White Benson, *Phoebe the Servant of the Church: A Sermon ... 1873, in Aid of the Parochial Mission-women Fund* (London: Macmillan, 1873).

⁹⁷ For example, in 1888 Herbert Hensley Henson (1863-1947), then Head of the Oxford House settlement, preached a sermon aid of the ELCF entitled 'The Responsibility of the City to East London' at St Margaret's, Lothbury. See *LDM*, May 1888, pp. 10-15.

⁹⁸ *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1 May 1888, p. 297; *ELCC*, Vol. 17, No. 2, Silver Anniversary 1905, p. 10; Vol. 12, No. 4, Christmas 1900, p. 7.

⁹⁹ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/11/01, ELCF Committee Minute Book, Vol. 7 1911-16, 25 April 1913.

money from entertainment-derived sources, these were concerts held in 1906 and 1910 and a sale of work organised by the WDA in Hampstead in 1911.¹⁰⁰ In summary, the male societies made very little use of ‘entertainment’ forms of fundraising. The three BLF fundraising entertainment events that can be traced all occurred in the early twentieth century. The timing of these events is important to the development of fundraising in the nineteenth century. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, there was a wide debate on the suitability of various form of entertainment being used to raise money for religious objects, with charitable bazaars coming in for particular condemnation.¹⁰¹ This suggests that either the male societies did not need to resort to this form of fundraising or that they did not approve of such methods.

The practice of using forms of entertainment to raise money was more usual in the female managed organisations. The LDDI also raised money through such ‘fun’ fundraising methods: principally, these were organised to raise funds for the Lily Mission and for the nursing home in Westgate-on-Sea. Examples of such fundraising activities were: a dramatic performance; a ‘masque of flowers’ (a theatrical performance that involved dancing and singing); a concert; a bicycle parade; and a jumble sale.¹⁰² There are also regular mentions of sales of works in aid of the LDDI from 1880 onwards. These involved individuals donating items that they had made which could then be sold: generally items such as needlework, china, pictures, jams and potted meats.¹⁰³ Fundraising through these means was generally held for the LDDI’s outreach projects and raised amounts specifically to plug funding deficits.

¹⁰⁰ *LDM*, February 1906, p. 53 and March 1906, p. 88; *The Musical Times*, 1 May 1910, p. 311; *Forty Ninth BLF Annual Report*, p. 11. The sale raised £131 in 1911.

¹⁰¹ This topic will be explored fully in Chapter 7.

¹⁰² *AD*, No. 16, July 1891, p. 111, p. 241 and p. 248; No. 29, October 1894, p. 156; No. 49, October 1899, p. 159.

¹⁰³ *AD*, No. 48, July 1899, p. 142; No. 67, July 1904, p. 119; No. 68, October 1904, pp. 128-129; No. 93, January 1911, pp. 5-6.

Pre-eminent in this area of fundraising was the PMWA which organised regular entertainment based forms of fundraising after the mid 1870s. Between 1877 and 1921, the PMWA annually received income from an amateur art exhibition. This was usually held at Lowther Lodge, the home of William Lowther (1821-1912), Conservative MP, and his wife Charlotte Anne Lowther (d. 1908). A small entrance fee was charged over the three-day period of the exhibition; this generally raised between £200 and £300 each year for the PMWA.¹⁰⁴ The PMWA also received income from entertainment. In 1877 a reading by the folklorist William Ralston Shedden-Ralston (1828–1889), raised £96; in 1907 the Romany Dramatic Club's performances at the Albert Hall raised £213; and in 1882 a photographic lecture raised £54.¹⁰⁵ The use of a distinguished patron was, if possible, employed at such events. In 1888, the minute book of the PMWA records that the Duchess of Albany (daughter-in-law to Queen Victoria) had consented to attend the society's fundraising concert, and that the committee was attempting to get the Princess of Wales (who later became Queen Alexandra) to agree to be the concert's patroness.¹⁰⁶ In addition, Lady Hamilton (the PMWA's President from 1915) regularly held sales of work on behalf of the PMWA; in 1893 two sales raised nearly £200.¹⁰⁷ Fundraising through entertainment means was, therefore, a significant stream of funding for the PMWA.

The two crucial factors that shaped the fundraising initiatives of the PMWA were firstly, that the main management committee was entirely composed of society ladies; and secondly, and that there was no clergyman on the committee to caution against the use of such fundraising practices. The mother house of the LDDI received a negligible amount from such

¹⁰⁴ LPL Ms. 1686, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1876-79, 17 May 1877; Ms. 2664, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1883-86, 6 March 1884 and 9 July 1885; *The Times* 30 April 1883, p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ LPL Ms. 1692, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1904-09, 13 June 1907; Ms. 1686, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1876-79, 15 May 1879; Ms. 1687, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1879-82, 22 June 1882.

¹⁰⁶ LPL Ms. 1688, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1887-90, 23 February 1888.

¹⁰⁷ LPL Ms. 1689, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1890-94, 9 March 1893 and 14 December 1893.

entertainment-based fundraising sources. This form of fundraising was used more by their outreach programmes: the nursing home at Westgate-on-Sea and the lodging house at the Lily Mission in Notting Hill, which had a ready band of lady volunteer helpers who would step in and organise an event to help fill a deficit in funds or in response to a special building appeal.¹⁰⁸ In addition, as the period progressed, both societies made more use of such entertainment-based fundraising methods. This may have been because it was a financially productive way to supplement diminishing subscriptions and donations. Equally, it may have been because such methods were becoming more acceptable and widely used in the late nineteenth century.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has looked in detail at funding techniques and funding sources utilised by the organisations chosen for this study. The mainstay of all of these organisations was the money raised through subscriptions, donations and bequests from the Anglican laity. The male organisations had a number of useful weapons in their promotional arsenal. They had the influential support of high-status patrons. Furthermore, as organisations established by the Bishop they had the support of the diocesan infrastructure behind them. Both of these factors aided the male societies in their efforts to raise funds. However, the most important factor that differentiated the male and female societies was the support of an infrastructure which facilitated the collection of funds and in particular, the wide geographical range of this collecting infrastructure. In summary, the BLF and ELCF were successful in using wide networks to collect money. Firstly, they utilised the diocesan infrastructure of rural deaneries as an existing collection network. Secondly, they used a network of female collectors. And thirdly, the ELCF established a network of local associations outside London. It did this by

¹⁰⁸ *AD*, No. 16, July 1891, p. 241.

publicising the destitution of the East End through the vehicle of its magazine and through promotional tours. These methods ensured that the male societies had a much larger funder-base, both numerically and geographically.

The female societies shared many of the standard charitable fundraising strategies employed by the male groups. They produced annual reports, held annual meetings, sold printed sermons by high profile speakers, placed adverts in newspapers and periodicals and used associates to collect money on their behalf. The female societies did not, however, have a large-scale infrastructure that could be employed for collecting purposes and holding church collections. This made the female societies more likely to use a paid collector, to advertise and to use emotive accounts to raise funds. The female societies were more dependent upon self promotion through drawing-room meetings, the use of publicity literature and advertising. In contrast to the male societies which had the weight of the diocesan infrastructure behind them, the principal weapon that the female societies had at their disposal was their social contacts. This is possibly the reason why female societies were more likely to use fundraising events to raise money.

The aim of this chapter has been to evaluate the fundraising mechanisms employed by the organisations in this study. This was with the dual purpose of establishing the funder-base for each society and evaluating whether the methods employed could be a possible explanation for the financial health of the organisations. It would seem reasonable to expect that the development of an extensive infrastructure of local associations for the male organisations during the period would have a positive impact on income, and that the larger the network the more financially stable the organisations would be. On this basis, it would suggest that the male societies would be more financially stable through the period. In contrast, the female

societies had a network of supporters that was more limited in scale. The female organisations did not have the force of the diocesan infrastructure behind them, this meant that they had to create new contacts themselves through advertising and promotional material. This suggests that the funder-base of the female societies would be more unstable because it lacked the organising force of an association secretary regularly to galvanise support. Building upon this, the next chapter will assess the finances of the different organisations in the context of the different funding streams and the demographics of the funder-base.

Chapter 5 – Financial Health and the Financial Supporters

The purpose of this chapter is to evaluate the financial health of the diocesan organisations selected for this study, within the period 1856 to 1914. The main objective of this chapter is to identify changes in the funding levels of these societies through an analysis of the different streams of funding. This is with the view to determine whether the level of financial support given to these organisations by the Anglican laity declined or remained stable during the period. The information contained in the subscription lists of the societies' annual reports will be analysed in a variety of ways in order to identify whether there were any demographic changes in the source of contribution and level of contribution. This is with the purpose of identifying any significant funding trends across the organisations, in terms of Church party, class or gender. To expand upon this, the analysis will contrast the funding of the High Church female organisations with the mixed Church party male organisations. Additionally, it will analyse whether any decline in financial support can be attributed to a particular class or gender.

PART 1 - The Phenomenon of Anonymous Contributions and an Overview of the Methodology used to Analyse Funder Support

1.1 Sources and Methodology

The aim of this first section is to give an outline of the methodology that will be employed in the rest of this chapter. Firstly, it is necessary to define the use of certain terms. In general discourse, the words 'subscription' and 'donation' can be used synonymously as they both relate to a financial contribution. These payments, however, relate to technically different types of payment when referred to in charitable literature: 'subscription' means a promised annual payment and 'donation' means a one-off gift. Unfortunately, due to different methods

of record-keeping by the different organisations, it has not been possible to distinguish between these two methods in the course of the analysis in this thesis. In order to avoid laboured terms, the word 'contribution' has been used as an umbrella term for both subscriptions and donations. In conjunction with this, the person (in the form of the subscriber or donor) has been termed either a financial 'supporter' or 'contributor'. When wanting to indicate technically that a payment was specifically by subscription (as in a regular annual payment) or by donation, these specific terms have been used.

The editors of the main charitable directories compiled their statistics from the published annual reports of charities in London.¹ These figures, however, can be unreliable guides to the financial health of specific charitable organisations. For example, in *Herbert Fry's Royal Guide to the London Charities* directory for 1865/66, the income for the LDHM for the year 1864/65 was reported as being £5,300. This, however, is a slightly deceptive figure. The end of year financial reconciliation for the LDHM, in its annual report published in 1865, shows that the £5,300 actually represented the total cash assets of the Fund at 30 December 1864 rather than reflecting a statement of income for the year.² The figure of £5,300 included a brought forward balance of £273 from the previous accounting year and an additional £1,495 realised from the sale of £1,500 nominal of Exchequer Bills. The actual 'raised' income figure for the year of 1864 was £3,569. This demonstrates that the publicly reported figures should be used only as a guide figure. The most reliable sources, from an accounting perspective, are the printed annual reports and manuscript general ledgers of a society. The annual income figures stated are, unless otherwise specified, based on the society's statement of receipts and expenditure. For accounting purposes the statement of receipts and expenditure has to show

¹ *The Classified Directory to the Metropolitan Charities* was published by William F. Howe between 1876 and 1919; *Herbert Fry's Royal Guide to the London Charities* was published between 1863 and 1942.

² *Eighth LDHM Annual Report*, p. 44.

how the society's expenditure for that year was funded. For this reason the 'receipts' in accounts include items that do not represent newly raised income for that year: loans, petty cash and sale of stock. As this thesis is concerned with the financial success of these particular Anglican home-missionary organisations (in terms of the amount of income raised each year), these types of sources have been stripped from the receipt figures shown in the tables in the Appendix. The analysis in the rest of this chapter presents the income levels for each year; the income is then broken down into different funding streams.

The source documents for the contributor analysis are the subscription lists from the societies' printed annual reports. In the case of the LDHM, it has also been possible to recreate the subscriptions lists from the LDHM manuscript cash books. The cash books were the source used by the LDHM to record its subscription lists.³ In the analysis found in this chapter, every financial payment listed as a donation or subscription has been interrogated by examining the size and source of the payment.⁴ Firstly, each subscription and donation payment has been categorised by size into the following bands: 'Under £1'; '£1 to under £2'; '£2 to under £10'; '£10 to under £50'; '£50 to under £100'; '£100 plus'.⁵ The reason for distinguishing between '£1 to under £2' and 'Under £1' is because a significant proportion of all contributions were for the amount of one guinea. This is because a guinea was commonly the amount given to charity.⁶

³ LMA Ms. DL/A/H/021/MS31995, LDHM Cash Book, 1891-1955.

⁴ Payments from collecting cards have not been included in this analysis as it is not possible to categorise the source of payments.

⁵ For example, the band '£1 to under £2' includes contributions between £1 and £2 but not £2.

⁶ For example, the Wesleyan Methodist Twentieth Century Fund (the Million Guinea Fund) was established in 1898 with the fundraising aim of getting one million people to give one guinea. The object was to commemorate the 100 year anniversary of Wesley's death (in 1791) with the building of Westminster Central Hall. See also *LDM*, February 1907, p. 48.

Secondly, payments were then categorised by source. These categorisations are: male, female, both male and female (i.e. a married couple), anonymous, corporate bodies and groups. The categories of 'Groups' and 'Corporate Bodies' need further clarification. Companies (such as banks, solicitors, breweries) are classified as being corporate bodies. 'Groups' includes payments from groups of individuals and includes descriptions such as 'Mrs Ley's children', 'Mrs F.G. Davidson's servants' and the 'Chester Deaconesses'. The payments from individuals categorised as 'Male', 'Female' or 'Both' were all then assigned a sub-classification to indicate their status; this was based on their form of address. This sub-classification categorises all people as being either clergy (e.g., Reverend, Bishop), titled (e.g., Lady, Sir, Duke) or commoner (e.g., Esq, Miss).⁷ The female payments have also been subcategorised by title to signify marital status, based upon the form of address used.⁸ This categorisation makes it possible to establish the main demographic of the funder-base (in terms of gender and status) for each organisation and then, consequently, to evaluate whether the demographic of this funder-base experienced any changes within the period. The information from these sources is presented in the Appendix in a number of different tables. These tables analyse the information in terms of the specifications of each contribution. For example, Table 2.1 shows a breakdown of payments to the BLF by year; these payments are analysed by the various categories (male, female, both male and female, anonymous, corporate bodies and groups). This approach is taken because the number of contributors gives a better representational gauge of public support than analysis in terms of how much money came from different sources. In the case of the ELCF in the 1910s, for example, the relatively stable

⁷ In the rare event that a clergyman was also a baronet, the individual has only been categorised as clergy. For example, across all subscription lists for the BLF this only affects the categorisation of 14 individuals. As for couples, if the husband was a clergyman, the couple have been categorised as 'Clergy'.

⁸ In the case of 'Lady' every effort has been taken to establish whether the 'Lady' is, for example, the wife of a baronet or the daughter of an Earl. The number of unidentified ladies is so small that it has no impact on the percentages quoted. An additional complication is the custom of older spinsters adopting the title of 'Mrs'. See Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 41.

income from subscriptions and donations masks the fact that the society was being propped up by large donations (often anonymous) to balance the society's books at the end of the year and prevent a deficit. Analysis in such financial terms is also occasionally given, but comes with the caveat that these figures can easily be skewed proportionally by one large donation.

Finally, it is necessary to take a moment to discuss the phenomenon of anonymity and how it will be dealt with in this thesis. The category of 'Anonymous' causes problems when wanting to indicate the percentage of supporters that were male or female. The only other historian that has done similar analysis of subscription lists is Frank Prochaska in his book *Women and Philanthropy*. His statistics, in his Appendix 1, analyse 'women as a percentage of all subscribers' with the aim of showing how this percentage changes over time. His method is to exclude all anonymous contributions.⁹ It is possible potentially to identify the gender of only a small minority of anonymous contributions. For example, in 1865 the BLF received 189 anonymous contributions. Of these only nine could potentially be given a gender categorisation. It must be borne in mind that the nine anonymous contributions that could be potentially identified represent 0.36 per cent of the total of 2,509 contributions in that year. For this reason the anonymous contributions have not been given a gender categorisation.

To take an example from the analysis of the subscription lists, Table 2.11 analyses the source of the contributions listed in subscription lists in the BLF's annual reports: these are categorised (as male, female, both, anonymous, corporate body or group) by year, thereby

⁹ Unfortunately, Prochaska makes no further mention of contributions from anonymous sources. And because of his interest in gender, he makes no mention of contributions from corporate bodies or from groups. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 232. Owen also makes no mention of anonymity in *English Philanthropy*. I must add that Prochaska's base figures for 'total numbers of subscribers' (the annual volume of contributors), in his Appendix 1, are unrealistically small. For example, the total number of supporters that Prochaska cites for the LCM in 1870 is 1,134 people. In 1901, he counts 763 people. My analysis from LCM subscription lists indicates that there was an average of 10,000 to 14,000 contributions each year. Likewise, Prochaska gives a figure of 103 contributions for the London Missionary Society in 1900. This also seems unlikely as their income for that year was £172,000.

reflecting the supporter base year-by-year. In 1865, for example, from a total of 2,509 contributions, the payments have been categorised as: 1,611 (64.2 per cent) from men; 602 (24.0 per cent) women; 24 (1.0 per cent) from married couples; 189 (7.5 per cent) from anonymous sources; 69 (2.8 per cent) from corporate bodies; and 14 (0.6 per cent) from groups. There are two ways in which these figures can be tackled statistically to provide analysis of gender. The first approach (the Prochaska approach) would be to take the female sector as a proportion of gender identified contributions (male contributions plus female contributions). E.g., in 1865, 1,611 (72.8 per cent) came from men and 602 (27.2 per cent) contributions came from women. This approach dovetails with the methodology employed in the status categorisation which also presents status as a proportion of the contributions from known individuals. The second approach would be to cite the female sector as a proportion of total (2,509) contributions, whilst also acknowledging the anonymous sector simply as a footnote. E.g., in 1865 24.0 per cent of the supporters of the BLF are known to be women; a footnote would then state that an additional 7.5 per cent of contributions came from anonymous sources. The methodology employed in this thesis has been to take the Prochaska approach which indicates gender as a proportion of the gender identified payments.

The following charts demonstrate the contribution categorisation for the BLF. Figure 1 shows the information only for identified male and female contributions (the Prochaska method) in 1865. Figure 2 shows the information for all categories in 1865. Figures 3 and 4 show the same information for 1912.

Figure 1 – Category analysis of number of contributions made to the BLF (showing only male and female contributions) in 1865.

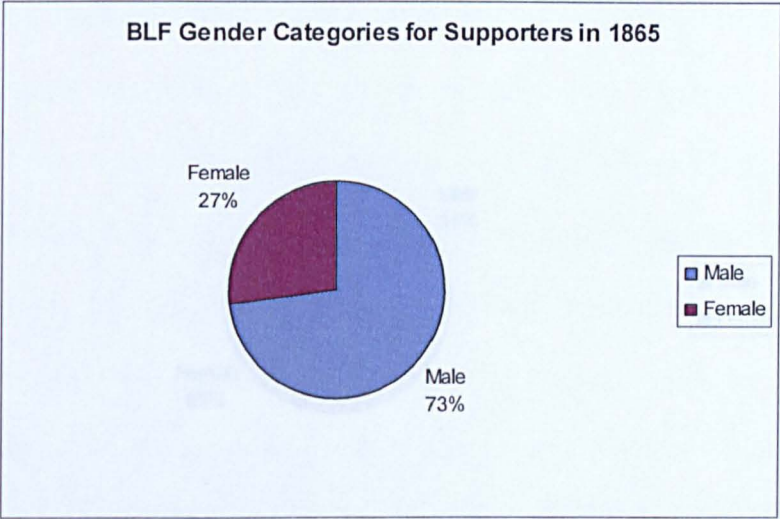
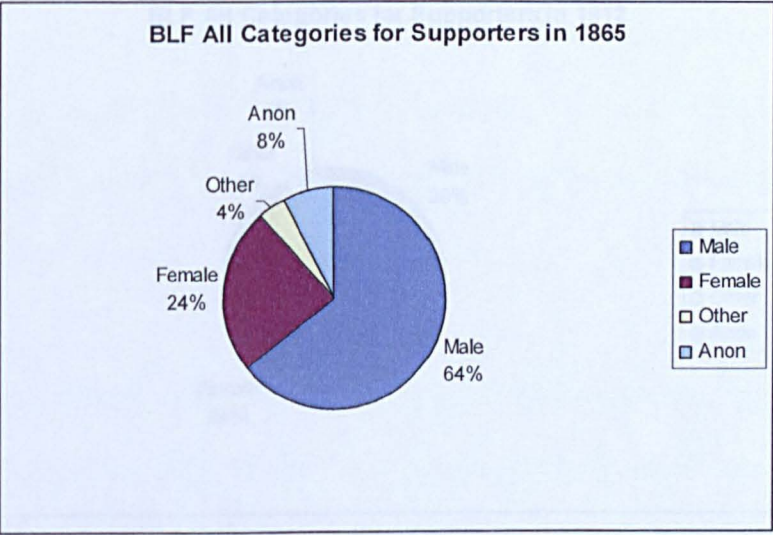


Figure 2 – Category analysis of number of contributions made to the BLF (showing all categories) in 1865.



These charts demonstrate that as anonymous contributions only make up a small overall percentage of contributions, their categorization has no impact on the observed supporter trends in the data which were instead other large demographic swings (from male to female supporters) or straightforward income across all sectors.

Figure 3 – Category analysis of number of contributions made to the BLF (showing only male and female contributions) in 1912.

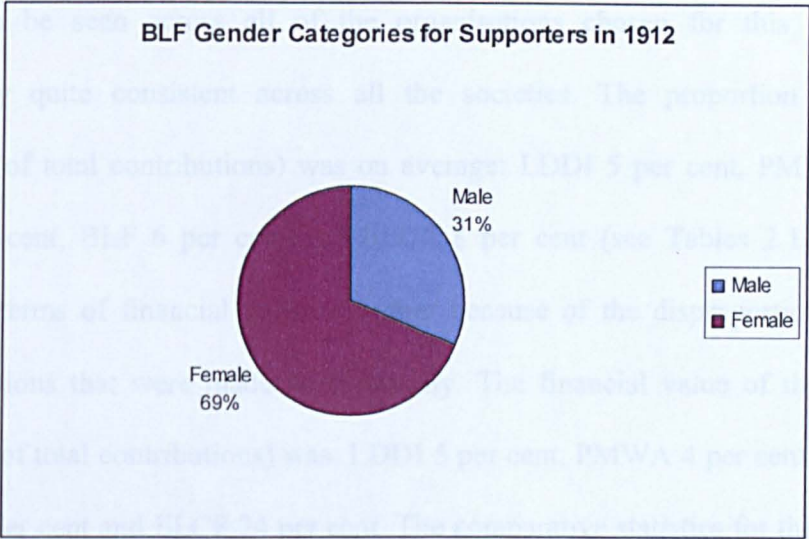
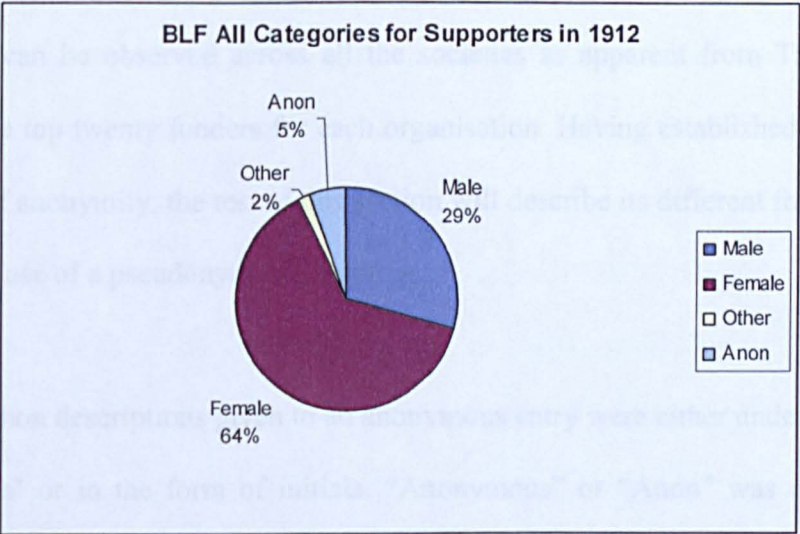


Figure 4 – Category analysis of number of contributions made to the BLF (showing all categories) in 1912.



These charts demonstrate that as anonymous contributions only make up a small overall percentage of contributions, their categorisation has no impact on the observed supporter trends in the thesis which have involved either large demographic swings (from male to female supporters) or straightforward decline across all sectors.

1.2 Anonymous Supporters

It is, however, worth exploring the theme of anonymous giving and its culture more closely. This trait can be seen across all of the organisations chosen for this study and was proportionately quite consistent across all the societies. The proportion of anonymous contributions (of total contributions) was on average: LDDI 5 per cent, PMWA 6 per cent, LDHM 6 per cent, BLF 6 per cent and ELCF 8 per cent (see Tables 2.11 to 2.15). The proportion in terms of financial value is higher because of the disproportionate number of large contributions that were made anonymously. The financial value of these anonymous contributions (of total contributions) was: LDDI 5 per cent, PMWA 4 per cent, LDHM 20 per cent, BLF 17 per cent and ELCF 24 per cent. The comparative statistics for the LCM are very similar; 5 per cent of the contributions to the LCM have been categorised as anonymous (see Table 6.2), equating to 20 per cent in financial value terms. This trait, of giving large sums anonymously, can be observed across all the societies as apparent from Tables 4.1 to 4.5 which show the top twenty funders for each organisation. Having established the scale of the phenomenon of anonymity, the rest of this section will describe its different forms and suggest reasons for the use of a pseudonym when giving.

The most common descriptions given to an anonymous entry were either under the description of ‘Anonymous’ or in the form of initials. “Anonymous” or “Anon” was one of the most common forms of entry.¹⁰ In some cases, the supporter was so anonymous that even the organisation did not know their identity. In 1865, the BLF received an anonymous donation for £4,000 through their subsidiary bank account at Hoares’ Bank. Hoares’ were unwilling to divulge the identity of the donor but allowed the BLF to communicate with the donor (a man)

¹⁰ 15 per cent of BLF anonymous contributions in 1865 and 33 per cent in 1912. 26 per cent of ELCF anonymous contributions in 1890 and 39 per cent in 1914.

through the bank.¹¹ The most common description (about half) given to an anonymous entry was in the form of initials.¹² It has been possible to trace a few of these anonymous supporters because the General Ledger of the LDHM noted the anonymous supporters' full names next to the initials; only the initial appeared in the printed annual reports.¹³ This has made it possible to identify three of the anonymous supporters of the LDHM. Miss Mary Sworder (1835-1915) was the daughter of John Sworder, a maltster. Her annual subscriptions are entered in a variety of ways during the period: 'Anonymous'; 'MSR'; 'MS'; and 'XYZ'. Between 1893 and 1913 she contributed £77. Stephen Smith Duval (1842-1926), a colonial broker, was entered in annual reports as 'SD'. He gave two guineas in 1913 and 1914. Finally, Miss Jessie Eleanor Richards was entered in the annual report as 'JR'. She subscribed £5 annually between 1904 and 1914; her annual subscriptions and donations totalled £65. Jessie was the daughter of Prebendary Henry William Parry Richards (1827-1900), a LDHM committee member. This highlights the fact that it was not just the very wealthy that chose to conceal their identity; these individuals were all ordinary middle-class people.

The identity 'FAH' was a very generous supporter and was one of the top subscribers to the BLF and the ELCF. 'FAH', for example, in 1902 gave a donation of £7,000 to the BLF. In 1902 the *London Diocesan Magazine* reported this donation to the BLF: 'Receipts were swelled by one munificent contribution of £7,000 towards the cost of erecting a church and

¹¹ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/02/001, BLF Executive Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1863-66, 21 February 1865 and 28 March 1865; LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/04/001, BLF Origination Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1864-66, 8 November 1864; 22 February 1865; *The Times*, 20 July 1867, p. 1. The BLF customer account records at Hoare's Bank record this payment simply under the description of 'Anonymous'.

¹² 53 per cent of BLF anonymous contributions in 1865. 59 per cent of anonymous contributions to the ELCF in 1890. The use of initials, however, did not necessarily reflect the initials of the supporter. Richard Foster (1822-1910), for example, gave away his twenty-first birthday gift from his mother; he gave the £2 donation anonymously to the National Society under the description of 'B.D.P.' which signified the words 'birthday present'. W.F. Foster, *Richard Foster* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1914), p. 26.

¹³ LMA Ms. DL/A/11/020/MS31994, LDHM General Ledger. A few more examples can be traced through the BLF cash books: LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/07, BLF Cash Books.

vicarage and the endowment of a new parish'.¹⁴ 'FAH' also gave £1,350 to the ELCF, of which £1,000 was given in 1900. The identity of 'FAH' is probably that of the merchant banker Francis Alexander Hamilton (1814-1907), whose name can be found across many of the subscription lists, giving many significant donations in the last few years of his life. Hamilton, one of the largest supporters of the LDHM, gave a single amount of £500 in 1902. He is known to be the identity behind an anonymous donation of £1,000 to the Waterloo Bridge Hospital.¹⁵ The use of initials was a common form of anonymity used to shield authorship in literature in the nineteenth century. Robert Tener argues that the use of initials, in periodicals, allowed the author to conceal their identity from the world at large, whilst also allowing their identity to be easily penetrated by those in the inner circle.¹⁶ The use of initials to hide philanthropic identity, in some cases, could therefore be a way of identifying yourself as a generous supporter whilst also professing to be humble. This seems a plausible explanation, as initials such as 'FAH' appear to be easily penetrated by the historian and presumably also by contemporaries.

The remaining anonymous payments were descriptive, either as in a description of who the supporter was or why they were giving.¹⁷ Firstly, are pseudonyms that convey a description of the supporter. Examples of such entries are: 'A Lady'; 'A Times Reader'; 'An Associate'; 'A Churchwoman'; 'A Country Curate'; 'A Country Parson'; 'A Disabled Clergyman'; 'A Freeholder of Middlesex'; 'A Peer'; 'An old Balliol Pupil'; 'Former Missionary Curate'; 'Member of the Executive Committee'; 'A Countess' and 'A Visitor to London'. Pseudonyms

¹⁴ *LDM*, February 1902, pp. 57-58.

¹⁵ John Crosby Brown, *A Hundred Years of Merchant Banking* (New York: privately printed, 1909), p. 343.

¹⁶ Robert H. Tener, 'Breaking the Code of Anonymity: The Case of the 'Spectator', 1861-1897', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Literary Periodicals Special Number 16 (1986), pp. 67-68.

¹⁷ For example, in 1865, 22 per cent of the anonymous entries to the BLF were descriptive.

such as these were commonly used as author's pen names in literature.¹⁸ The concept of friendship is one of the most frequently employed descriptions; this can be seen in the subscription lists across a variety of religious and welfare charities. Descriptions used are: 'A Friend'; 'Amicus'; 'A True Friend'; 'A Distant Friend'; 'A Friend to the Good Cause'; 'An Absent Friend'; 'An Old Friend'; and 'A Wellwisher'.¹⁹ Five per cent of the anonymous contributions to the BLF expressed an aspect of friendship. The other forms of description, expressed the motivation or emotion behind the donation. For example: 'For the Spread to the Gospel'; 'God's Truth before Expediency'; 'Offering to God'; 'Gratitude'; 'A Grateful Hearer'; 'Fides, Spes et Caritas' ('Faith, Hope and Charity'); 'Te Deum Laudamus' ('We praise you God'); 'LCD Windfall' and 'Dicto Paremus Ovantes' ('Rejoicing We Obey the Word'). In addition, the concept of a thank-offering was often expressed in anonymous contributions. For example, the £3,000 donation to the ELCF in 1911 was given under the description of 'An East End Worker – A Thankoffering'.²⁰ A small proportion (about three per cent) of the anonymous contributions expressed some form of remembrance, in particular using the form of words 'In Memoriam' often followed by initials or a name.²¹ For example, a donation of £5 was made in 1873 to the BLF under the description of 'In Memoriam (GH Brettle)'.²² The anonymous descriptor most commonly employed in the subscription lists of the LDDI and PMWA was one that indicated friendship. This could possibly indicate that the giver had a more personal kind of connection with these societies. Alternatively, it may be a pseudonym that women were more likely to use. Anonymous descriptions used in the

¹⁸ Tener, 'Breaking the Code of Anonymity' p. 68; Robert T. Griffin, 'Anonymity and Authorship', *New Literary History*, 30:4, Case Studies (Autumn 1999), p. 890.

¹⁹ References to 'friendship' were also in the anonymous contributions to the RSPCA. E.g., 'A lover of dumb things'.

²⁰ The term worker could refer to clergyman or layman undertaking spiritual work in the East End. Alternatively, it could refer to an employer in the East End.

²¹ References to 'In Memoriam' were also in the anonymous contributions to the RSPCA; with the remembered being an animal. E.g., 'In memory of a dear departed pet'.

²² This contribution relates to George Henry Brettle (1820-1872) a merchant of the family hosiery company, George Brettle and Company.

subscription lists of the male societies were more likely to be a functional description of the giver.

As explained, a significant proportion of the larger subscriptions and donations made to the Anglican organisations in this study were made anonymously. An analysis of individual donations or subscriptions of '£100 plus' demonstrates that the larger the payment was, the more likely it was to be made anonymously. The overall proportion of these larger payments (£100 plus) made anonymously to the BLF was 11 per cent; ELCF 31 per cent; LDHM 53 per cent; PMWA zero per cent; LDDI 67 per cent and LCM 30 per cent (see Table 3.2). The periodical *The Philanthropist* applauded the fact that large donations were frequently given anonymously: 'Apart from the amount of a gift there is usually more real charity in large donations because they are frequently given anonymously, and therefore only with the object of benefaction; and not that the donor may parade his wealth – and his kind-heartedness.'²³ Alternatively, the use of anonymity may have been for self-serving reasons. As the century progressed, philanthropy became more businesslike with the professionalisation of the writing of begging letters. *The Times*, in 1880, reported that:

When a name has once been printed on a subscription list, its owner becomes a marked man. He has joined, by his own act, the unhappy class to which an appeal can be made with some chance that it will be met. From that day forward his persecutors will never cease.²⁴

Publications, such as *The Charitable Ten Thousand* (published in 1896 and 1904) were used by various canvassers and collectors on behalf of charities. This book was an A to Z list with addresses of philanthropists drawn up from subscription lists: the historian David Owen calls

²³ *The Philanthropist*, No. 8, Vol. 1, August 1882, p. 113. *The Philanthropist* called itself 'the representative Journal of Social Philanthropic Movements and Institutions'.

²⁴ *The Times*, 1 July 1880, p. 11.

this directory the philanthropic ‘sucker-list’.²⁵ However, the publication of this directory does not appear to have been a significant factor behind anonymity. An analysis of the subscription lists of the Anglican societies in this study does not show an increase in anonymity within this later period.²⁶ The giving of large amounts secretly can be seen to be following the advice given by the eighteenth-century theologian William Paley (1743-1805). He encouraged individuals to give normal amounts of charity openly, in keeping with the biblical teaching from Matthew: ‘Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven’.²⁷ He advised that, in contrast, large amounts should be given in secret in order to be modest and avoid boastful behaviour.²⁸ This behaviour of combining larger private and smaller public contributions can be, for example, observed in the contributions made by Edward Pusey. He gave the MCF £1,000 publicly in his own name and £5,000 anonymously as ‘From a clergyman seeking treasure in heaven’.²⁹ This highlights the religious basis of some uses of anonymity.

Anonymity could also be employed as a tool for strategic reasons. Richard Foster (1822-1910) gave contributions in various different forms: under his own name; under the description of ‘A Merchant of the City of London’; and under the description of initials. Foster’s biography

²⁵ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 480. Many of the prominent philanthropists identified in this study can be found in the 1896 edition of *The Charitable Ten Thousand*: Duke of Bedford, Richard Benyon, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, The Misses Doxat, Lord Ebury, Richard Foster, John Saunders Gilliat, Charles Morrison, Elizabeth Von Mumm, Duke of Portland, Viscount Portman, Henry Warner Prescott, Lady Wantage, Duke of Westminster, Earl Wharncliffe.

²⁶ The proportion of contributions to the BLF which were anonymous was 7.5 per cent in 1865. In 1912 the proportion was 5.3 per cent. Likewise, the proportion of contributions to the ELCF which were anonymous in 1885 was 13.2 per cent. In 1910 the proportion was 7.6 per cent. In contrast, the proportion of anonymity rose in the LCM subscription lists. In 1859/60 the rate was 5.0 per cent. By 1913/14 it had risen slightly to 6.1 per cent.

²⁷ Matthew 5:16, *Authorised King James Bible*.

²⁸ Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p. 104. See William Paley, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (London, 1785). An analysis of the subscription list contained in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge annual report (for the year 1749 to 1750) suggests that anonymity rates may have been higher in the eighteenth century. In this subscription list 17 per cent of supporters gave sums anonymously, with 37 per cent of sums in excess of one guinea being made anonymously (principally under the description of ‘gentleman/ gentlewoman desiring to be unknown’).

²⁹ Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, Vol. 1, pp. 330-31.

explains the underlying reason behind his use of multiple identities. It says that Foster would sometimes make three contributions to a church-building fund: in his own name; through a church-building society; and anonymously. He did this because he had found that money coming into a project from a variety of sources stimulated that project in a way that one large donation could not.³⁰ Foster felt that he had an obligation to help Londoners; and that by using this pseudonym he hoped would 'arouse a sense of responsibility in other merchants'.³¹ This use of a pseudonym by Foster reflects the finding that the subscription lists of the male societies were more likely to have anonymous descriptors which reflected who the giver was. For example, 'Member of the Executive Committee'; 'An East End Curate'; 'A Peer'; and 'A Member of the Currier's Company' are all descriptions found in the BLF subscription lists. As indicated by Foster's use of a pseudonym, these descriptions may have been used to encourage other people with the same background or status to give.

Analysis of the contributions for these organisations shows that the total proportion of payments which were anonymous was in the region of five to seven per cent. Comparative statistics from a sample of annual reports of welfare organisations show that the total proportion of anonymous subscribers was slightly lower in the region of two to four per cent. This lower proportion suggests the fact that people giving to religious charities were more likely to connect their giving to biblical teachings such as from Matthew's Gospel: 'Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven'.³² Explicit connection to biblical teachings in the anonymous description was principally found in the subscription lists of the male societies. These descriptions referred to the 'Widow's Mite', 'First Fruits' and the 'Tithe'. In contrast, the

³⁰ Foster, *Richard Foster*, p. 83.

³¹ Foster, *Richard Foster*, pp. 44-45.

³² Matthew 6:1, *Authorised King James Bible*.

anonymous contributions to the RSPCA and the New Hospital for Women did not describe themselves in a way that connected with biblical concepts. Instead these descriptions only reflected principles such as friendship, gratitude or remembrance of a person or pet. In addition, none of the larger payments (£100 plus) made to these welfare charities were made anonymously.³³ Overall, there was a different basis behind the use of anonymous contributions to welfare and religious societies; for the former, anonymity was used mainly as a means to express a personal connection with the society.

In conclusion, a small proportion of individuals chose to hide their identity when giving contributions to charity. This initial evidence shows that there were many different reasons that individuals chose to hide their identity. These reasons included wanting to express the motivation for giving the contribution, modesty, economic self preservation, religious reasons, and wanting to use the anonymous identity as a tool to encourage more donations. Anonymity was both a means of hiding identity and a means of communication.

PART 2 - Financial Health and the Financial Supporters: the Male Organisations

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is, first, to evaluate the financial health of the male Anglican home-missionary organisations chosen for this study. In particular, it will analyse how the funding streams fluctuated within the period. The funding stream figures for these societies can be found in Tables 1.1 to 1.3 and 6.1. The second purpose is to establish the character of the funder-base for each society. The analysis will consider issues such as: Church party, gender, status, geographical location and connection with the society's committee. The

³³ Sample taken from *Sixty First RSPCA Annual Report*; *Third New Hospital for Women Annual Report*; *Fourth Society for the Suppression of Mendicity Annual Report*.

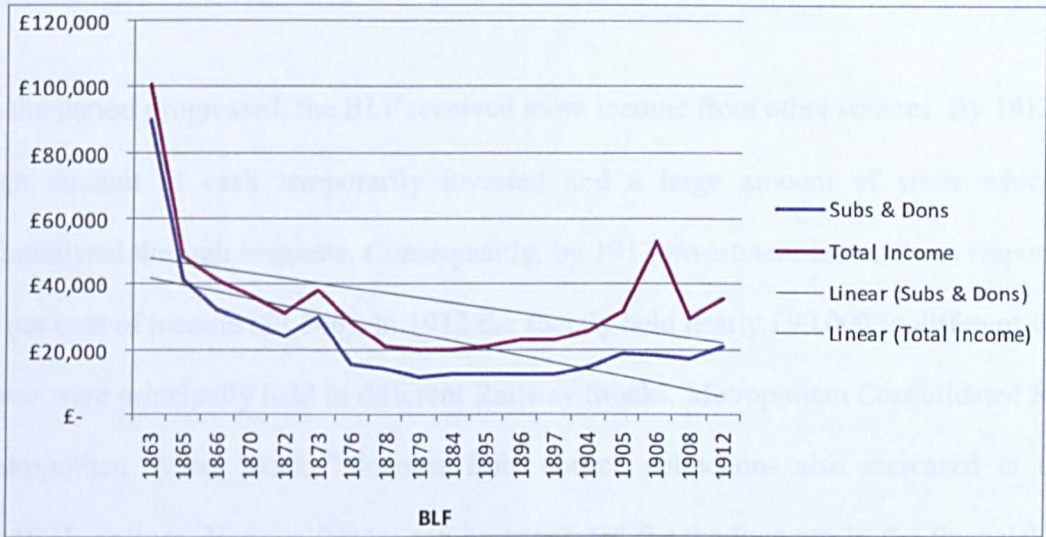
subscription list analysis is contained in Table 2.1 to Table 4.5. This analysis provides the basis for the third purpose, which is to establish whether the financial support of the Anglican laity declined within the period. The aim is to ascertain whether any detected decline in the number of supporters can be attributed to a certain sector of supporter, or whether the decline occurred across all sectors. Finally, the chapter will suggest models to represent the different experiences of the societies in terms of laity support: 'Model 1' a decline in the number of male supporters; and 'Model 2' a decline in the number of both male and female supporters. This section will evaluate the financial health and funder-base of the BLF, ELCF and LDHM. The interdenominational LCM will be used to make comparisons. It will first evaluate the financial health of each organisation before going on to discuss the subscription analysis in terms of class, gender and size of contribution. The section will then consider the prominent funders of the male organisations in order to establish a common funder profile, looking initially at subscriptions and donations, and then bequests.

2.2 Financial Health and Analysis of Financial Supporters

2.2.1 Bishop of London’s Fund

Financial Health

Figure 5 – Comparison of BLF ‘total income’ and ‘subscription and donation’ income stream. Information taken from Table 1.1



This section studies the financial health of the BLF, in the period 1863 to 1912. The BLF’s support was strongest in its first decade. Bishop Tait’s initial intention had been that the fund would be a temporary ten-year appeal. However, Bishop Jackson took charge in 1869 and made the BLF a permanent organisation in 1873. In the first decade, the annual total number of contributions remained consistently in the range of 2,200 to 2,700 (See Table 2.11). This support then fell dramatically between 1873 and the mid 1880s. For example, in 1884 only 698 supporters made subscriptions or donations to the fund. This dramatic decline in lay support caused the BLF’s annual income to fall to its lowest levels in the late 1870s and early 1880s. This stagnation was, however, a temporary affair: the BLF’s Golden Jubilee report of 1912 stated that since the slump of the early 1880s, the Fund had experienced continuous revival.³⁴ This revival can be analysed in the subscription lists in the 1897 and 1912 annual

³⁴ BLF, *Origin of the BLF*, pp. 5-6 and p. 9.

reports. By 1897 the BLF subscription list showed some signs of slight recovery: the number of contributors had risen to 1,043.³⁵ By 1912, however, the revival was dramatic: the number of supporters had surpassed the numbers during the society's first few years, having risen to 2,712. This increase in the number of supporters had a corresponding impact on income levels from this source, rising gradually from £11,000 to £20,000 plus.

As the period progressed, the BLF received more income from other sources. By 1912 it had a large amount of cash temporarily invested and a large amount of stock which it had accumulated through bequests. Consequently, by 1912 investment income was responsible for 10 per cent of income (£3,546). In 1912 the society held nearly £90,000 in different securities. These were principally held in different Railway Stocks, Metropolitan Consolidated Stock and Metropolitan Water Stock.³⁶ Income from church collections also increased in the early twentieth century. Various factors can be suggested for the increase in the financial value of the church collections in the late nineteenth century. There were more churches in the diocese to hold church collections.³⁷ Also by this point in time a large number of the churches in the diocese would have received some sort of financial support from the BLF and would have been obligated to hold an annual collection in aid of the Fund. In addition, in 1893, the BLF expanded its small network of local associations systematically throughout the diocese by appointing organising secretaries for each of the rural deaneries.³⁸ In financial terms the income stream from church collections peaked in 1906 and then declined year-on-year from that point. The number of churches holding collections, however, remained relatively stable during this decline: 540 participated in 1906 (income £8,423) and 533 participated in 1912

³⁵ This recovery was as a result of the expansion in its local associations in 1893, and the reinvigoration of the WDA under Louise Creighton.

³⁶ *Forty-Ninth BLF Annual Report*, p. 34.

³⁷ List of all new churches in *Forty-Ninth BLF Annual Report*, pp. 74-76.

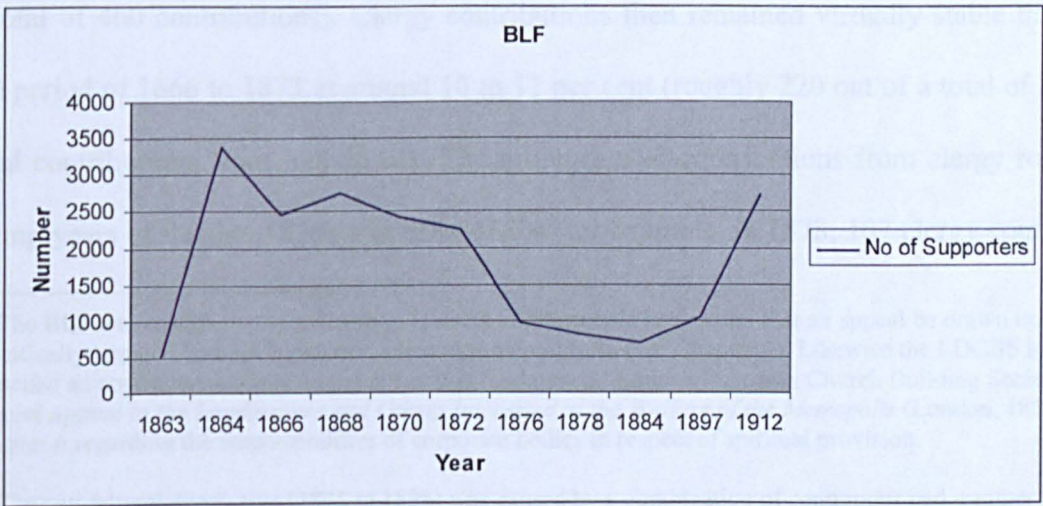
³⁸ *LDM*, April 1893, pp. 111-16.

(income £6,539). The *London Diocesan Magazine* in 1911 highlighted this loss ‘which makes an important difference in the Fund’s income, and the Committee earnestly appeal to the Clergy and their congregations to put forth their best efforts to recover the lost ground’.³⁹ The problem was not that fewer churches were participating, rather that congregations were giving less money to the church collections. In addition, income from legacies became an important source of annual income; this amount fluctuated from year-to-year but was usually in the region of £2,000 to £4,000 per annum.

Thus BLF income during the period 1863 to 1914 remained relatively healthy. It experienced a dip in income in the late 1870s and early 1880s, and then bounced back in the early twentieth century with increased subscriptions, donations and bequests from the Anglican laity and increased income in the form of interest on accumulated capital. This information will now be reviewed in relation to the analysis of the BLF subscription list information.

Funder-base Analysis

Figure 6 – Number of BLF supporters. Information taken from Table 2.11



³⁹ *LDM*, May 1911, p. 151.

The analysis of the BLF funder-base will first consider the composition in terms of titled individuals, clergy and commoners. When the society was launched it specifically appealed to wealthy London property owners.⁴⁰ This accounts for the much higher proportion of titled supporters in this first year. Proportionately, the most support from titled individuals came in the first couple of years of the Fund: in 1863, 22 per cent of the supporters held titles (102 titled individuals out of a total of 460); this figure fell to 11 per cent (326 titled individuals out of a total of 3,022) in the subsequent year (see Table 2.21). After 1864, the comparative figure for titled individuals was generally around eight or nine per cent of total contributors each year. The overall financial value of payments from titled individuals represented 31 per cent of contributions from individuals; this reflects the large amounts that were given by very wealthy peers with London estates such as the Duke of Westminster and the Duke of Bedford. The level of financial contributions from titled individuals remained relatively stable between 1873 and 1897 in the region of £3,000 to £4,000 per annum and does not appear to have been particularly affected by the agricultural depression of this period.⁴¹ The level of clerical contributions, mirroring those of the titled individuals, was proportionately much higher in the initial six-month period when the percentage of clergy contributions was 18 per cent (82 out of a total of 460 contributions). Clergy contributions then remained virtually stable throughout the period of 1866 to 1873 at around 10 to 11 per cent (roughly 220 out of a total of 2,200) of total contributions from individuals. The proportion of contributions from clergy rose in the slump years of the late 1870s and early 1880s (for example, in 1878, 107 clergy contributions

⁴⁰ The BLF was established in reaction to Charles Girdlestone's suggestion that an appeal be drawn up which specifically targeted London's property owners and employers (see Chapter 3). Likewise the LDCBS had also launched an appeal specifically aimed at London landowners: London Diocesan Church Building Society, *Special Appeal to the Landowners and Others Interested in the Welfare of the Metropolis* (London, 1855). See Chapter 6 regarding the responsibilities of corporate bodies in respect of spiritual provision.

⁴¹ The agricultural depression (1873 to 1896) was caused by a combination of continuous bad weather and bad harvests in the late 1870s and an increase in the importation of cheap foodstuffs, particularly wheat and chilled and frozen meat. These events affected landowners through the loss of estate rental as farming income declined and had a consequential effect on land prices. See F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, paperback edition, 1971), pp. 308-09.

out of a total of 757); this highlights the decline in contributions in this decade from commoners. By 1912, however, the percentage of contributions from clergy had fallen to only four per cent (99 clergy contributions out of a total of 2,548) due to the dramatic increase in the number of contributions from commoners.⁴² Regardless of these fluctuations in contributions from clergy and titled individuals, financial support throughout the period came chiefly from commoners; 81 per cent of the contributions from individuals over the whole period came from commoners (see Table 2.21); this, however, only represented 59 per cent of the financial value of contributions from individuals.⁴³

The majority of the contributors to the BLF were men: in the first fifteen years, 71 per cent of the gender identified supporters were male (see Table 2.11). This percentage was higher in the first year of the Fund when 83 per cent (382 out of a total of 460) of its supporters were men. As men generally gave larger sums than women, these male contributions accounted for 94 per cent of the financial value of the male and female contributions in the first six months. The proportion of male contributors then remained virtually constant in the range 67 to 73 per cent until 1878 (for example, in 1866 there were 1,570 male supporters and 604 female supporters). By 1897 the male proportion had dropped to 52 per cent (71 per cent in terms of financial value of the gender identified contributions in that year): 492 men and 447 women. The next available subscription list for the BLF for the year 1912, however, shows a further dramatic shift with only 31 per cent of contributors in that year being male: in 1912, 789 contributions came from men and 1,725 from women.⁴⁴ However, the men's contributions in 1912

⁴² This is because the period 1884 to 1912 saw very little change in the number of contributors who were clergymen: the number of clergymen was 86 in 1884 (out of total 634 contributions) and had only risen to 99 in 1912 (out of total 2,548 contributions).

⁴³ As previously stated, this was due to the large sums given by titled landowners such as the Duke of Westminster and Duke of Bedford.

⁴⁴ As previously stated, there was one large £4,000 anonymous donation in 1912 which skews the cash value proportions.

represented 67 per cent in terms of the financial value of the male and female contributions. This statistic highlights the fact that although many more women were giving to the BLF in 1912, they were typically giving very small amounts.

One possible explanation for increased female contributions is the passing of the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882. These acts separated women from their husbands as distinct legal entities thereby giving married women the same property rights as unmarried women. However, analysis of the marital status of the female funders shows that there was also a shift within the female sector with more of the funders being spinsters at the end of the period. In 1865, 39 per cent of the BLF's female funders were spinsters; the comparable figure for 1912 was 53 per cent. The more plausible explanation for the increase in the level of contributions from women, specifically to the BLF, was the reinvigoration and reconstitution of the LDA under the superintendence of Louise Creighton. Brian Heeney describes Louise Creighton as being 'the leading woman in the Church of England during the first two decades of the twentieth century'.⁴⁵ In 1900, the WDA took on an increased responsibility for raising money for the BLF and for publicising its works. The association appointed a second Honorary Secretary with this specific responsibility. Contributions to the BLF through the WDA rose year-on-year between 1900 and 1911; in 1911 the WDA contributed £708.⁴⁶ This money came from personal subscriptions, road collections, collecting boxes, drawing-room meetings, and concerts in aid of the BLF. In August 1905 the GDA also joined with the WDA in supporting the BLF. It is this reinvigoration that is the most likely explanation for the increase in female contributions. In summary, this evidence from the analysis of the subscription lists shows that the number of male contributors significantly declined in the period both numerically and proportionately. Between the years 1865 and 1873 the number of

⁴⁵ Heeney, *Woman's Movement in the Church of England*, pp. 92-93.

⁴⁶ *Forty Ninth BLF Annual Report*, p. 171.

male contributors ranged between 1,300 and 1,700 a year. These numbers slumped to 424 when the BLF was struggling in the early 1880s. The number of male contributor then rallied slightly at the start of the twentieth century but still only reached 789 male contributors for the year 1912 (see Table 2.11).

The other observable trend from the subscription list analysis is that contributions were generally for a larger sum in the first few years (see Table 2.4). In 1864 6 per cent of the contributions were of amounts of £100 or over (189 out of a total of 3,392); this proportion fell to under 2 per cent in 1912 (46 out of 2,712). The BLF was the society that received the greatest number of large contributions of '£100 plus' (see Table 2.31). Within this band, of the gender identified individuals the bulk (92 per cent) of large contributions of '£100 plus' came from men (859 out of a total of 938). This statistic is replicated in the next two bands: 83 per cent of contributions in the band '£50 to under £100' were made by men (603 out of a total of 724) and 79 per cent of contributions in the band £10 to £50 (4,127 out of a total of 5,221). This reflects the status of the BLF and its support from the wealthy landowners and financiers of London. Analysis of the large amounts (£100 and more) shows that 36 per cent (341 out of a total of 941) of these large payments came from titled individuals (see Table 3.2). The financial supporters in later years, on average, gave a smaller amount than the supporter of the 1860s and 1870s (see Table 2.41). In 1865, 68 per cent of contributions were for sums below £10 per annum (1,718 out of a total of 2,509); the comparative figure for 1912 was 91 per cent (2,468 out of a total of 2,712). This again reflects that fact that the supporters in this later period were predominantly female.

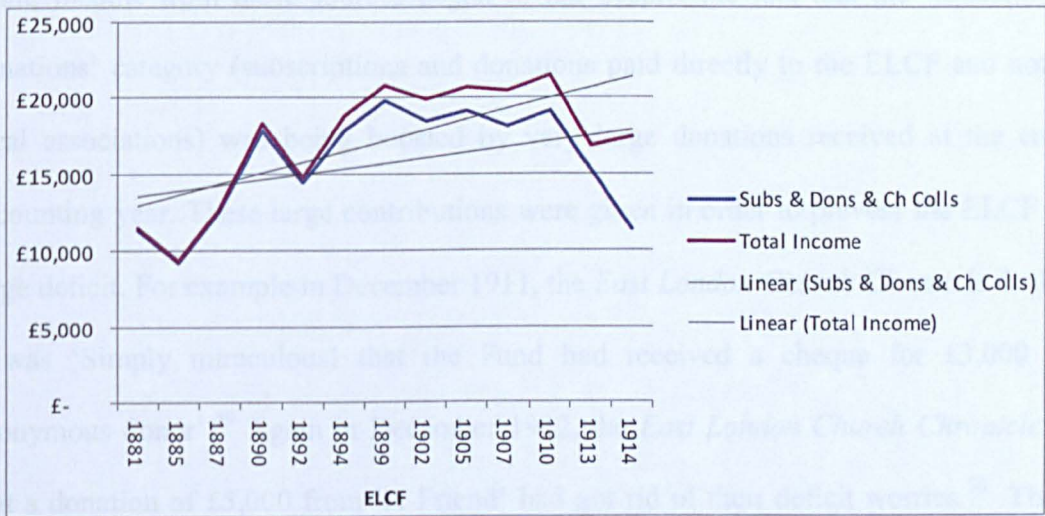
The profile of the typical funder of the BLF and the amount that they gave thus changed dramatically within the period. The typical supporter in the 1860s and 1870s was a man giving

an amount in the ‘£2 to under £10’ band. The situation in 1912 was completely different, the typical funder then was a woman (more likely a spinster) giving a small amount of less than one pound. The BLF, therefore, experienced supporter ‘Model 1’ which represents a decline in male supporters. However, this decline was more than matched by an upsurge in the level of female support. This upsurge meant that the BLF income levels in the early twentieth century were unaffected by the loss of male supporters.

2.2.2 East London Church Fund

Financial Health

Figure 7 – Comparison of ELCF ‘total income’ and ‘subscription, donation and church collections’ income stream. Information is taken from Table 1.2.



The ELCF was established in 1880 and its income rose quite steadily into the early twentieth century (see Table 1.2). Although its income levels were lower than the BLF’s and it initially struggled to reach its target of £20,000 per annum, it achieved income in this range in the period 1900 to 1910. In conjunction, the number of supporters was at its highest in this period, peaking at 3,931 in the society’s silver anniversary year of 1905 (see Table 2.12). In 1900, the ELCF expressed concern that the rival claims of the Mansion House Fund in aid of the sick

and wounded was impacting on the society's income.⁴⁷ It is reasonable to assume that the income of religious organisations chosen for this study were affected by competition; however, the War appeals (the Boer War occurred between 1899 and 1902) referenced by the ELCF only lasted for a short period.⁴⁸ In fact the lack of impact of the war appeals can be seen in the fact that the number of contributions to the ELCF increased between 1899 and 1902 (see Table 2.12) and that the ELCF peak financial year for subscriptions and donations was 1899.

It is difficult to analyse funding streams for the ELCF because of the society's technique of combining source figures in different ways. The combined 'subscription and donation' and 'church collection and local association' income stayed quite stable until 1910. After this point, income from these sources began to fall despite the fact that the 'subscriptions and donations' category (subscriptions and donations paid directly to the ELCF and not through local associations) was being boosted by very large donations received at the end of the accounting year. These large contributions were given in order to prevent the ELCF having a large deficit. For example in December 1911, the *East London Church Chronicle* declared that it was 'Simply miraculous! that the Fund had received a cheque for £3,000 from an anonymous donor'.⁴⁹ Again in December 1912, the *East London Church Chronicle* reported that a donation of £5,000 from 'A Friend' had got rid of their deficit worries.⁵⁰ These large donations were not necessarily from committee members. The £5,000 donations had come from 'a friend who had long subscribed £50 yearly, and who, in view of that large donation, would no longer be able to continue the annual subscription'.⁵¹ The friend in question was

⁴⁷ *LDM*, April 1900, p. 161.

⁴⁸ During the Boer War, levels of income tax increased. See B.E.V. Sabine, *History of Income Tax* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966), pp. 128-30. Income tax rate in 1899 was one shilling; rising to one shilling and three pence in 1901; by 1904 it had returned to the rate of one shilling.

⁴⁹ *ELCC*, Vol. 23, No. 4, December 1911, p. 1 and p. 6.

⁵⁰ *ELCC*, Vol. 24, No. 4, Christmas 1912, p. 6.

⁵¹ *ELCC*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Easter 1913, p. 1.

Miss Emily Ann Maynard (d. 1920), the daughter of a solicitor.⁵² These large one-off donations highlight the fact that overall the income from 'subscriptions and donations' was declining. In 1913, the ELCF complained that support from the provincial local associations had fallen off in the 1912 accounting year, saying that there had been decrease of nearly £1,000. The ELCF also noted a small reduction, in the same year, in sums received from the metropolitan associations.⁵³

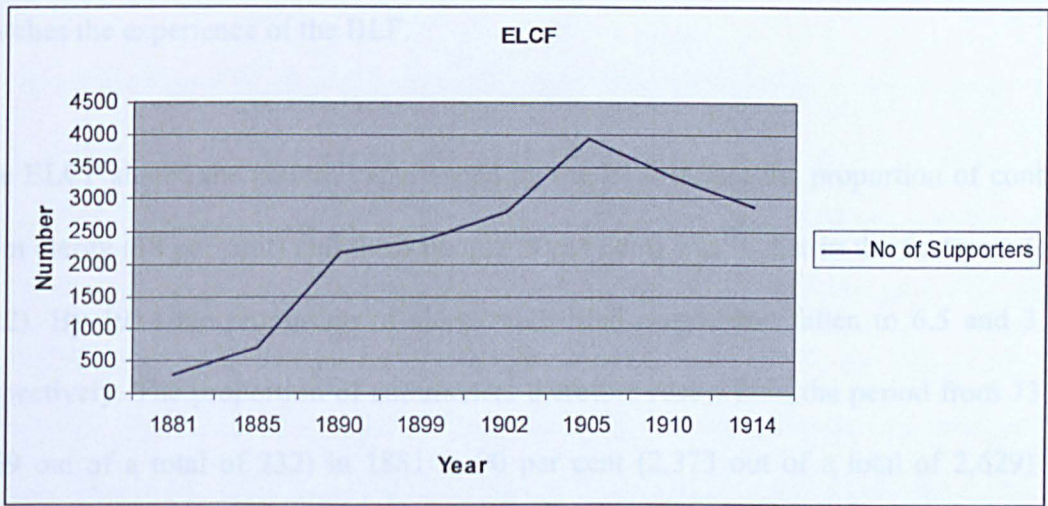
One notable feature of ELCF income, in contrast to the other organisations, was its evenness in legacy income. There was a practical explanation for this. The ELCF was the only organisation that apportioned its legacy income to its annual income; this was in order to prevent large fluctuations in annual income and, therefore, to assist with annual budgeting.⁵⁴ Overall, the ELCF experienced stable income from 1880 until 1910 when a marked decline commenced in its subscription and donation income. After 1910, the income from this source was often being supplemented by one large donation from an anonymous benefactor with the purpose of preventing an end of year deficit.

⁵² LMA Ms. DL/A/K/11/01/007, ELCF Committee Minute Book, Vol. 7 1911-16, 27 December 1912.

⁵³ *ELCC*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Easter 1913, p. 6.

⁵⁴ *ELCC*, Vol. 22, No. 4, December 1910, p. 9.

Figure 8 – Number of ELCF supporters. Information taken from Table 2.12.



The number of contributions to the ELCF rose steadily in its first decade as it built up its network of supporters. After 1890 the level of contributions was always in excess of 2,000 subscriptions and donations a year. The ELCF experienced a clear increase in its annual number of supporters up until 1905 (see Table 2.12). From this point onwards the number of supporters declined, until it dropped to a level comparable with the BLF.

The shift experienced by the BLF, from male to female funders ('Model 1'), is echoed by the findings of the ELCF analysis. The majority of the (gender identified) funders for the ELCF were male in the first few years only; in 1885 51 per cent of the funders were men (299 men and 292 women). After this date, the majority of funders were female with the proportion gradually increasing from 60 per cent (776 men and 1,182 women) in 1890 to 76 per cent (612 men and 1,985 women) in 1914. By 1914 only 24 per cent of the funders were male; a figure comparable with the BLF male funder proportion of 31 per cent for 1912. This shift is to some degree matched by proportional changes in financial value terms. In 1881, 81 per cent of the financial value of individual contributions for the ELCF came from men; by 1914 it had fallen

to 33 per cent. Drilling down further there was also a shift within the female sector with more of the funders being spinsters at the end of the period. In 1881 49 per cent of the female funders for the ELCF were spinsters, by 1914 the figure was 60 per cent; this shift also matches the experience of the BLF.

The ELCF shared the pattern experienced by the BLF in that the proportion of contributions from clergy (18 per cent) and titled people (9 per cent) was higher in the first year (see Table 2.22). By 1914 the proportion of clergy and titled people had fallen to 6.5 and 3 per cent respectively. The proportion of commoners therefore rose within the period from 73 per cent (169 out of a total of 232) in 1881 to 90 per cent (2,373 out of a total of 2,629) in 1914. (Commoners were responsible for an overall average of 77 per cent of the financial value of ELCF contributions). The much lower titled proportion for the ELCF can be explained by the fact that a large proportion of its contributions came from the provinces, in particular from the seaside towns referred to in the last chapter. Whereas the BLF campaigned to raise money from landowners and businessmen in London, the ELCF actively campaigned in the provinces by sending the Bishop on seaside tours. This meant that its supporters were more typically middle-class men and women who gave small sums.⁵⁵

Regarding the size of contribution, the trend generally experienced by the male and female societies was that the large contributions were mainly received only in the first few years of the society. The ELCF did not experience this trend: in contrast it received a number of very large contributions in the latter years; these large gifts were as a response to appeals in respect of their deficit. The majority of the ELCF's contributions were of a relatively small amount, with this proportion increasing over the years (see Table 2.42). In 1885, 44 per cent of the

⁵⁵ See example in *LDM*, June 1902, p. 205.

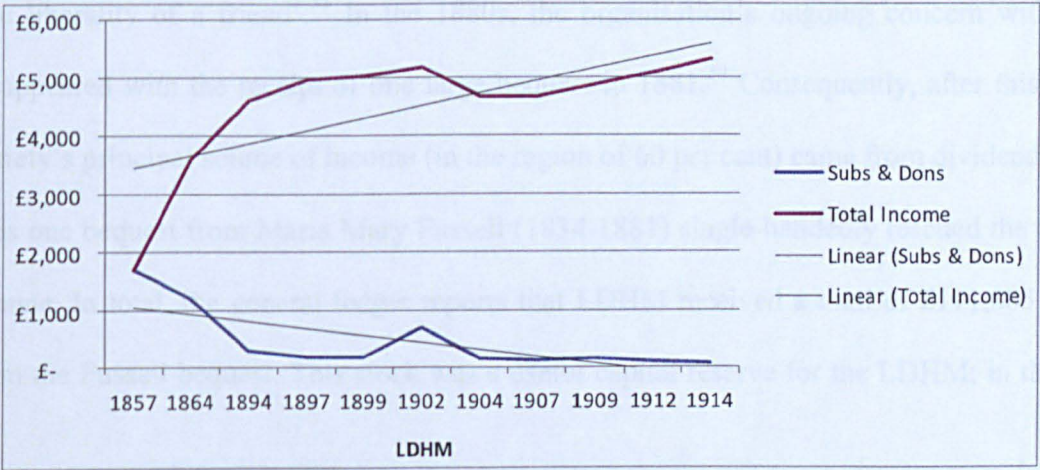
ELCF's contributions were for less than £2 (310 out of a total of 707); by 1910 this proportion had increased to 72.5 per cent (2,429 out of a total of 3,350).

The typical funder of the ELCF also changed within the period; this change was in line with the shift experienced by the BLF. The profile of the typical funder in 1885 was that of a man giving ‘£2 to under £10’ (closely followed by a woman giving the same amount). By 1910 this had changed, the typical profile being a woman (more likely a spinster) giving less than £1. The funder-base experience of the ELCF was that of ‘Model 1’. In the case of the ELCF, however, the upsurge in female supporters did not financially compensate for the loss of the male supporters. Instead in the later years, its relative financial buoyancy was being maintained by anonymous donors who gave large sums in order to balance the end of year books.

2.2.3 London Diocesan Home Mission

Financial Health

Figure 9 – Comparison of LDHM ‘total income’ and ‘subscription and donation’ income stream. Information taken from Table 1.3.



The level of total income for the LDHM was quite constant in the period 1857 to 1914; income was reliably in the £4,000 to £5,000 band after the first few years (see Table 1.3). Initially, all of the LDHM's income came from subscriptions, donations, church collections or from contributions from parishes as part payment towards the cost of the missionary. After 1863, an additional source of funding came from the annual block grant (of around £1,500) from the BLF. This annual grant was responsible for approximately 30 per cent of the organisation's annual income. It is in the subscription and donation categories that the most dramatic changes can be observed. This category gradually decreased in importance as a funding stream; by 1914 only £55 of income came from this source.⁵⁶

The minute book of the LDHM first started recording a concern for its diminishing income in the 1870s. The income figures in Fry's Guide suggest that the LDHM income levels declined through the 1870s from £7,750 (1870/71) to £5,526 (1879/80).⁵⁷ Throughout the 1870s, the minute books expressed the Council's concern that they would end the year in deficit; this deficit was often met by a timely anonymous donation (presumably from a committee member). For example, the £400 deficit at the end of 1878 accounting year was covered by 'the liberality of a friend'.⁵⁸ In the 1880s, the organisation's ongoing concern with money disappeared with the receipt of one large bequest in 1881.⁵⁹ Consequently, after this date the society's principal source of income (in the region of 60 per cent) came from dividend income. This one bequest from Maria Mary Fussell (1834-1881) single-handedly rescued the society's fortune. In total, the general ledger reports that LDHM received a total of £111,805 in stock from the Fussell bequest. This stock was a useful capital reserve for the LDHM; in the period

⁵⁶ The boost in the 1902 subscription and donation income was due to a £500 donation from Francis Alexander Hamilton.

⁵⁷ *Herbert Fry's Royal Guide to the London Charities*: £7,750 in 1870/71 issue and £5,526 in 1879/80 issue.

⁵⁸ LMA Ms. DL/A/H/018/MS31992, LDHM Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1857-87, 13 March 1879.

⁵⁹ *The Times*, 19 January 1904, p. 5.

up to 1905, the society sold £15,000 of stock in order to meet annual deficits.⁶⁰ The influx of money from the Fussell bequest did not mean that the LDHM committee was content with its level of income. Newspaper reports of the LDHM annual meeting repeated the society's pleas for new supporters to come forward.⁶¹ The LDHM, in 1899, expressed its concern that financial support was low for two reasons: public perception that the society had a steady income (through the Fussell bequest and annual BLF grant), and because of the 'pressing claims' of the BLF and ELCF.⁶² In the early twentieth century, Bishop Winnington-Ingram was a particular champion for the society and made frequent appeals on its behalf. He argued that the lack of financial support was limiting its work.⁶³ In 1901, *The Times* reported that the Bishop believed that 'there was no other society in the Diocese of London doing more to advance the Kingdom of God than the London Diocesan Home Mission'.⁶⁴ Despite this and other appeals there was no increase in contributions from the laity. By 1914 the laity's support of the society had virtually dried up, with essentially all income coming from dividends and the BLF block grant. The next section will consider this loss of support through an analysis of the subscription lists.

⁶⁰ LMA Ms. DL/A/H/025/MS31999, Retrospective narrative of the dealings of the trustees with the trust fund established for the bequest of Maria Fussell in 1884.

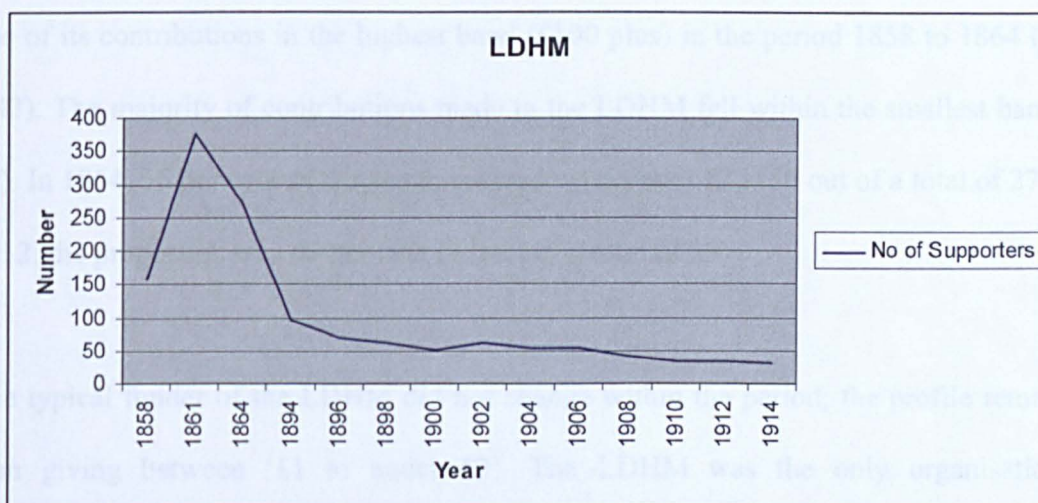
⁶¹ *The Morning Post*, 16 July 1896, p. 2; *The Standard*, 16 June 1884, p. 2.

⁶² *LDM*, August 1899, pp. 308-10.

⁶³ *The Times* 26 June 1901 p. 9; 17 June 1904, p. 15.

⁶⁴ *The Times* 26 June 1901, p. 9.

Figure 10 – Number of LDHM supporters. Information taken from Table 2.13.



The LDHM experienced a peak in the number of the contributions in the first few years of its existence; the peak being 377 contributions in 1861 (see Table 2.13). From this point on it experienced a year-on-year decline. The majority of the supporters of the LDHM were men; in total 71 per cent (1,323 men compared to 529 women) of the gender identified contributions came from men. Overall in financial terms, this represented 81 per cent of money raised from subscriptions and donations. The LDHM also received most of its contributions from commoners; the average over the period being that 65 per cent (1,204 out of a total of 1,864) of individual contributions, equating to 64 per cent in financial terms. The average for the other categories was 12 per cent titled and 24 per cent clergy (see Table 2.23). In the later period, the number of annual contributors to the LDHM was negligible: 90 in 1893 and then falling year-on-year to only 30 in 1914 (see Table 2.13). Analysis of the 30 supporters remaining in 1914 shows the lack of support from the laity. Many of these 30 were LDHM committee members, their relatives and prominent Evangelicals.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Examples of Evangelicals amongst the 30 supporters in 1914: Two members of the Buxton family (Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, third baronet; and Sydney Buxton, Earl Buxton); Henry Wace (Dean of Canterbury);

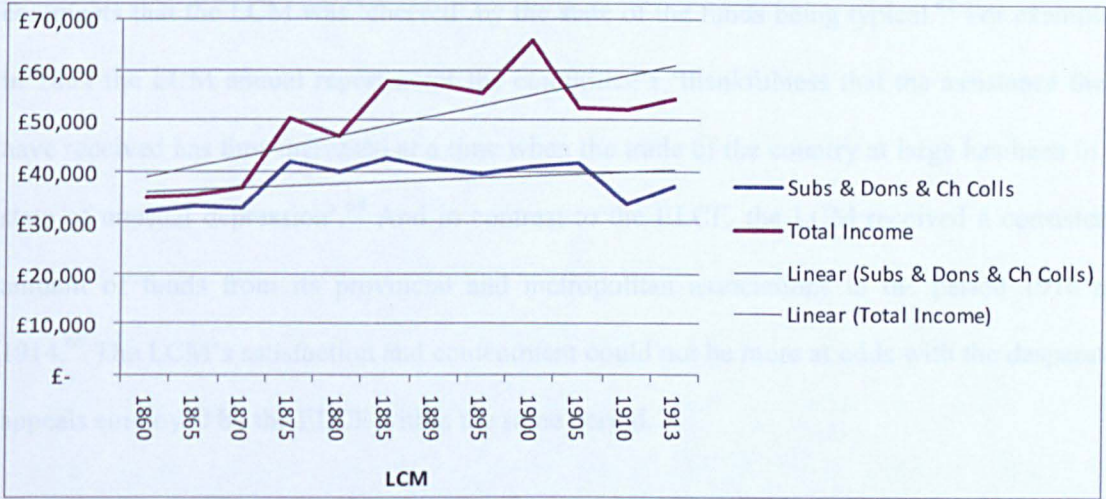
As previously stated, the trend experienced in relation to large contributions was that they were mainly received only in the first few years of the society. The LDHM received all but one of its contributions in the highest band (£100 plus) in the period 1858 to 1864 (see Table 2.43). The majority of contributions made to the LDHM fell within the smallest bands (under £2). In 1864, 56 per cent of the sums received were under £2 (150 out of a total of 270); and in 1912, the proportion was 63 per cent (22 out of a total of 35).

The typical funder of the LDHM did not change within the period; the profile remained as a man giving between '£1 to under £2'. The LDHM was the only organisation which proportionately retained the support of male supporters but it must be stressed that with only 30 contributions in 1914, its support was practically nonexistent. In conclusion, the funding experience model for the LDHM differed from that of the BLF and ELCF. It followed 'Model 2': one of absolute decline in the number of financial supporters; a decline that was mapped across all demographics and also saw a diminution in the typical size of contribution.

2.2.4 London City Mission

Financial Health

Figure 11 – Comparison of LCM ‘total income’ and ‘subscription, donation and church collections’. Information taken from Table 6.1.



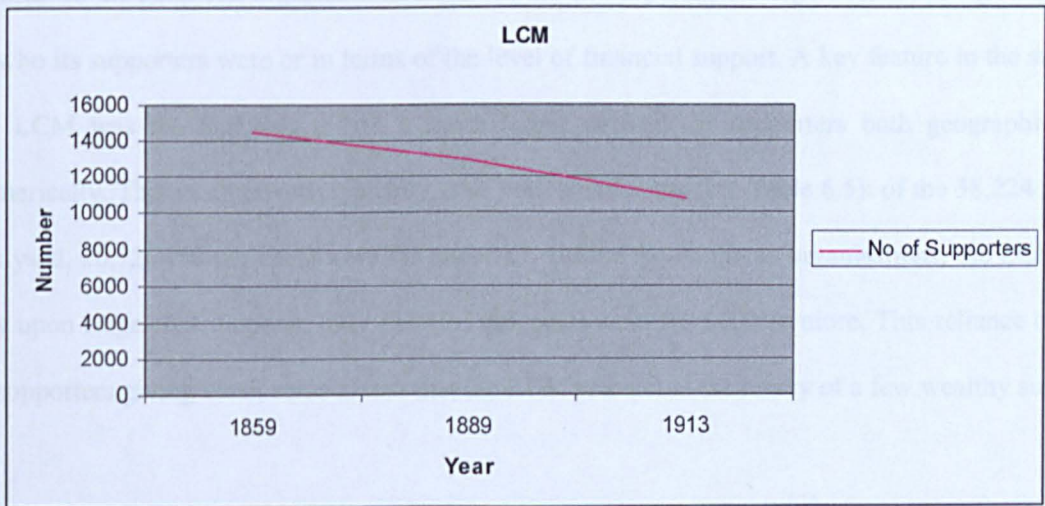
Finally for comparative purposes, this section analyses the finances of the interdenominational LCM (established in 1835) for the period 1859 to 1914. The experience of the LCM differed from that of the Anglican organisations, with very little variation in income streams between 1895 and 1914 (see Table 6.1). The LCM’s income was consistently above £50,000 in the period after 1875. The explanation for the higher income levels after 1885 is because of an increasing amount of income coming from bequests. In 1875 legacies were responsible for 17 per cent of income; this proportion rose to 26 per cent in 1895 and 28 per cent in 1913. The LCM’s much larger network of local associations meant that it harvested a significantly larger number of bequests than the BLF or ELCF (See Table 5.1). In addition, this capital accumulation from its legacies meant that the LCM also benefitted from its increasing amount of revenue from dividends.

Analysis of the income streams shows that after 1900, contributions from local associations had fallen slightly. The income figure from metropolitan associations was over £3,000 lower

in 1913 than in 1875.⁶⁶ Income from provincial associations, however, remained relatively constant hovering around the £6,000 figure. In contrast to the Anglican societies, the financial morale of the LCM remained quite buoyant throughout the period 1860 to 1914, with comments that the LCM was ‘cheered’ by the state of the funds being typical.⁶⁷ For example, in 1884 the LCM annual report notes the committee’s ‘thankfulness that the assistance they have received has thus increased at a time when the trade of the country at large has been in a state of unusual depression’.⁶⁸ And in contrast to the ELCF, the LCM received a consistent amount of funds from its provincial and metropolitan associations in the period 1910 to 1914.⁶⁹ The LCM’s satisfaction and contentment could not be more at odds with the desperate appeals employed by the ELCF within the same period.

Funder-base Analysis

Figure 12 – Number of LCM supporters. Information taken from Table 6.2



⁶⁶ The peak in 1885 marked the LCM’s fiftieth jubilee and therefore is an atypical income figure.

⁶⁷ *Fifty-Second LCM Annual Report*, p. xii. See also *Seventieth LCM Annual Report*, p. xv.

⁶⁸ *Forty-Ninth LCM Annual Report*, p. 3.

⁶⁹ *Seventy-Fifth LCM Annual Report*, p. 23; *Seventy-Sixth LCM Annual Report*, p. 23; *Seventy-Seventh LCM Annual Report*, p. 35; *Eightieth LCM Annual Report*, p. 34.

The LCM also experienced a gradual decline in its number of supporters from 14,504 in 1859/60, 12,947 in 1889/90, and 10,773 in 1913/14 (see Table 6.2). Gender analysis shows that the bulk of the nearly 4,000 supporters which it lost (between 1859 and 1913) were men. The proportion of male supporters therefore declined from 48 per cent in 1859 (6,366 men and 6,814 women), to 36 per cent (3,409 men and 5,988 women) in 1913. The proportion of female supporters therefore increased in the period from 52 to 64 per cent. In contrast to the Anglican organisations, throughout the period the female supporters of the LCM were more likely to be married: 63 per cent of female supporters in 1859, 55 per cent in 1913. The LCM did not receive much money from titled individuals (see Table 6.3), partly due to the fact that Nonconformists were less likely to have titles; the average proportion of contributors to the LCM who were titled was under two per cent (619 out of a total of 35,250). The LCM proportions for all status classifications remained relatively constant throughout the period: commoners represented 94 per cent and clergy 4 per cent. Finally, the typical supporter of the LCM did not change within the period: it remained a woman (more likely married) giving under £1. The financial experience of LCM was also 'Model 1' with a decline in male supporters. However, in contrast to the Anglican organisations the LCM did not experience a significant funding shift in terms of who its supporters were or in terms of the level of financial support. A key feature in the stability of the LCM was the fact that it had a much larger network of supporters both geographically and numerically. This vast network typically gave very small sums (see Table 6.5): of the 38,224 payments analysed, 20,726 (54 per cent) were for under £1. Unlike the Anglican organisations, the LCM did not rely upon large contributions: only 114 (0.3 per cent) were for £100 or more. This reliance on a mass of supporters giving small sums meant that the LCM was not at the mercy of a few wealthy supporters.

2.3 The Male Organisations: an Analysis of the Prominent Subscribers and Donors

The 'Top 20 funders' of each organisation are listed in Tables 4.1 to 4.5; the tables are supported by biographical information regarding each of these contributors. The purpose of

this identification of supporters is that it allows subsequent analysis to identify whether the societies experienced the same demographic change in its funder-base.

The profiles of the prominent supporters of the BLF and ELCF were unsurprisingly (given that they were sister organisations) very similar in makeup. Both organisations received their largest contributions from a mixture of titled people, bishops of London and commoners (mainly bankers). However, within these similarities there were slightly different balances. More of the BLF's prominent supporters were titled or clergy, and more of the ELCF's prominent supporters were commoners. In contrast, the LDHM received no large sums from London clergymen themselves; its prominent supporters were principally titled landowners, bankers and commoners related to clergymen.

Prominent London landowners, such as the William Henry Berkley Portman, second Viscount Portman (1829-1919) and Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, first Duke of Westminster (1825-1899) appear in the subscription lists for both the BLF and ELCF. Viscount Portman derived a large income from the Portman Estate in central London. He contributed £13,595 to the BLF and £2,400 to the ELCF. The Duke of Westminster's wealth came principally from income on his property in London, particularly Mayfair and Belgravia; between 1870 and 1899, his rental income on this property rose from £115,000 to £250,000 per year.⁷⁰ He contributed £35,050 to the BLF, £6,000 to the ELCF, and £170 to the LDHM. In respect of the female associations, he gave at least £100 to the PMWA but did not subscribe to the LDDI. The Duke also was a generous supporter of the LCM giving £4,500 in total.⁷¹ The BLF had a higher proportion of

⁷⁰ Thompson, 'Grosvenor, Hugh Lupus, first duke of Westminster (1825-1899)', *ODNB*. He was the son of Richard Grosvenor, second Marquess of Westminster (1795-1869) who was a committee member of the LDCBS. His uncle was Robert Grosvenor, first Baron Ebury who was a committee member of the SRA, LDHM, LDCBS and BLF.

⁷¹ *LCM Magazine*, No. 759, Vol. LXV, February 1900, p. 45.

titled supporters than the other societies; this reflects the fact that wealthy London property owners were specifically targeted by the society.

In addition, clergy are more prominently represented in the list of top funders of the BLF. This is because all of the bishops of London gave significant amounts to the BLF. The amounts given reflected both their personal wealth and the length of their time in office. Likewise, the ELCF also received large amounts from Bishop Walsham How and Bishop Winnington-Ingram, who were both directly connected to the Fund.⁷²

The BLF, ELCF and LDHM all received significant amounts from commoners, in particular from wealthy businessmen. Of these the most noteworthy were three bankers: Charles Morrison (1817-1909); Samuel Jones-Loyd, first Baron Overstone (1796-1883); and Francis Alexander Hamilton (1814-1907). Charles Morrison set up the merchant bank Morrison Sons and Company, in 1841, with his father and brother.⁷³ The company was wound up in the 1850s and after this date he acted as an independent merchant banker. Charles died unmarried and at his death left an estate valued at nearly £11 million.⁷⁴ He is thought to have been 'probably the second wealthiest man in Britain at his death' (the wealthiest man was the first Duke of Westminster).⁷⁵ Morrison gave £47,600 to the BLF and £9,900 to the ELCF in the form of annual subscriptions.⁷⁶ Additionally, he left bequests to a number of Church charities: the BLF £10,000; Bishop of St Albans' Fund £10,000; ELCF £10,000; Rochester Diocesan

⁷² How in his capacity as Bishop of Bedford, and Winnington-Ingram in his capacity of Suffragan Bishop of Stepney and then Bishop of London.

⁷³ See Caroline Dakers, *A Genius for Money: Business, Art and the Morrisons* (Yale University Press, 2011). Charles was the eldest child of James Morrison (1789-1857), a partner in the successful haberdashery and drapery firm Todd and Company based in the City of London.

⁷⁴ David J. Jeremy (ed.), *Dictionary of Business Biography: A Biographical Dictionary of Business Leaders active in Britain in the Period 1860-1980* (London: Butterworths, 1984), pp. 341-45.

⁷⁵ Rubinstein, 'Morrison, Charles (1817-1909)', *ODNB*; W.D. Rubinstein, *Men of Property: The Very Wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), p. 45.

⁷⁶ Morrison did not subscribe to the LCM or to either of the female associations in this study.

Society £10,000; and Poor Clergy Relief Corporation £5,000.⁷⁷ In total, he gave the BLF and ELCF a combined total of £77,500 (nearly £4,000,000 in current monetary value).

The wealth and standing of the Loyd family was also relatively recently acquired. Samuel Jones-Loyd, first Baron Overstone, was the son of the Reverend Lewis Loyd, a Welsh Unitarian clergyman (1768-1858). Lewis Loyd gave up his ministry to become a banker, and founded the family banking firm Jones Loyd and Company. Overstone's birth was registered with the Unitarians but he was later brought up as a member of the Church of England.⁷⁸ He has been described by Boyd Hilton as being 'a deeply religious man who had almost decided to take orders, and although there is no evidence that he ever called himself an evangelical, it is likely that if he had been a generation older he would have associated with the moderate evangelicalism of Wilberforce's Clapham and Simeon's Cambridge'.⁷⁹ His wealth at death was £2.1 million in securities and £3.1 million in landed property.⁸⁰ He contributed £11,500 to the BLF and had previously subscribed to the MCF, BGCF and the LDCBS.⁸¹

In contrast to these two leviathans of wealth, Francis Alexander Hamilton was a less spectacularly wealthy businessman; his estate at death was valued at £383,561.⁸² Hamilton was a merchant banker and worked for Brown Shipley and Company until his retirement in 1904.⁸³ He gave the largest one-off donation to the LDHM of £500 in 1902. He also gave

⁷⁷ *The Times*, 5 June 1909, p. 13.

⁷⁸ Michael Reed, 'Loyd, Samuel Jones, Baron Overstone (1796–1883)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁹ Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, p. 133.

⁸⁰ Reed, 'Loyd, Samuel Jones, Baron Overstone (1796–1883)', *ODNB*.

⁸¹ Bishop Blomfield had been Overstone's private tutor. Burns, 'Blomfield, Charles James (1786–1857)', *ODNB*. He also contributed at least £100 to the PMWA. He did not support the ELCF (dying within a few years of the commencement of the Fund), LDDI or the LDHM and only gave ten guineas to the LCM.

⁸² It must also be borne in mind that Hamilton gave away large sums in the last few years of his life. *LDM*, March 1889, pp. 323–24. For a brief biography see Brown, *A Hundred Years of Merchant Banking*, pp. 340–43.

⁸³ *The Times*, 5 February 1907, p. 8; *Financial Times*, 1 January 1904, p. 7.

£4,300 to the BLF and £380 to the ELCF.⁸⁴ Hamilton was also one of the principal funders of the LCM giving £5,638 over his lifetime, and also leaving the LCM a small bequest of £250. His large donations all came in his last few years. The *London Diocesan Magazine* praised his philanthropy and gave the following examples of his benevolence: 'Quite recently he contributed nearly the whole cost of S Luke's Church, Finchley, and provided an endowment. The Rector of Finchley relates that on one of the Sundays in the present year he preached for the SPG, and that Mr Hamilton sent to him a cheque for £1,000 for its funds.'⁸⁵ In addition, to these public contributions, it is likely that Hamilton was the identity behind the generous anonymous supporter entitled 'FAH' mentioned in Section 1.2 of this chapter.

The members of the Anglican laity that appear prominently in the subscription lists of these three male organisations, therefore, shared a common background. The factor that linked many of these financially prominent philanthropists was their position in London, either professionally or in society. The large contributions came from hereditary titled landowners with London property, individuals who were high-ranking London clergymen or were related to London clergymen, and individuals who were City bankers. The principal funders of the interdenominational LCM did not share this profile (see Table 6.7). Firstly, the prominent LCM funders were mainly a mixture of Nonconformists and Evangelical Anglicans who had close Nonconformist connections through earlier generations. Secondly, the philanthropists that funded this organisation were mainly wealthy businessmen connected to businesses in either banking or brewing.⁸⁶ The top funders of the LCM included several members of the Buxton brewing family and members of the Barclay and Bevan banking families, all of whom shared Quaker roots. This section has identified the typical profile of the principal funders of

⁸⁴ Hamilton was not a subscriber to either the PMWA or the LDDI.

⁸⁵ *LDM*, March 1907, p. 82.

⁸⁶ W.D. Rubinstein found that a high proportion of wealthy Anglicans derived their income from finance and from brewing. Rubinstein, *Men of Property*, pp. 61-63.

the male organisations in terms of subscriptions and donations; the next section analyses the typical profile of the legator.

2.4 The Male Organisations: an Analysis of the Legators

Another way that the individual could donate money to charity was through the form of a bequest in their will or through an informal instruction. Bequests were a significant form of funding for all of the male societies. 263 bequests were left to the male societies in the period 1860 to 1914: 172 to the BLF; 74 to the ELCF; and 17 to the LDHM (see Table 5.1). The bequests ranged in size from an anonymous bequest to the BLF for £10 made by 'MLL' to a bequest of nearly £112,000 to the LDHM made by Maria Mary Fussell.⁸⁷ The average size of the bequest varied greatly from organisation to organisation. Most of the bequests received by the male societies fell in the '£100 to £499' band (see Table 5.2). The BLF and ELCF, however, also received a number of larger bequests in the '£500 to £999' band and the '£1,000 to £9,999' band. Although the LDHM only received a small number of bequests, the Fussell bequest was of such a large amount that the dividends from the investment impacted greatly on the society's income. The Fussell bequest also acted as a valuable capital reserve which could be utilised to meet expenditure. The LCM received a significantly larger number of bequests than the Anglican organisations; receiving 2,084 bequests within the period 1860 to 1914. This was a consequence of its much larger national network of funders through local associations. The LCM also received most of its bequests in the '£100 to £499' band; however, it also received almost as many bequests in the 'Under £50' band. Overall, this suggests that the individuals leaving money to the BLF and ELCF were wealthier than those leaving money to the LDHM and LCM.

⁸⁷ Anonymous bequests were rare (See Table 5.1).

A survey of wills in *The Times* newspaper in 1899, noted that it was rare for the landed gentry to leave charitable bequests.⁸⁸ This is because, in such cases, strict settlements were commonly drawn up to ensure that the main estate was preserved intact for each generation. Only 13 of the bequests to male societies came from titled legators: eight women and five men. These bequests were mainly for the BLF; only one bequest from a titled individual was received by the LDHM and the ELCF received no bequests from titled individuals. The amounts from titled men were quite modest, falling in the range of £50 to £450; the (mean) average of titled male bequest was £310. For example, George Rushout, third Baron Northwick (1811-1887), Conservative MP and son of the Honourable Reverend George Rushout-Bowles, gave £100 to the BLF, from an estate valued at £324,977. The bequests from titled women were of larger amounts, falling in the range £25 to £5,000; the (mean) average of titled female bequest was £1,339. This reflects the size of their estate which were all in excess of £10,000 and in three instances was valued at over £100,000.⁸⁹ The largest bequest from a titled person was the £5,000 legacy to the BLF from the widow Viscountess Ossington (1806-1889). Charlotte Denison was the widow of John Evelyn Denison, first Viscount Ossington (1800-1873) in 1827. Her brother-in-law was the High Church clergyman George Anthony Denison (1805-1896).

Twenty-five of the bequests to the male organisations came from clergy; these bequests were all made to BLF and ELCF, the majority of these (22) were made to the BLF. These bequests span a wide financial range from £20 to £10,000 and were either for a relatively small amount (nine of the bequests were for £100 or under) or for a larger than typical amount (seven of the bequests were for £1,000 or more). Of the 25, 19 can be traced as having a connection with

⁸⁸ *The Times*, 25 September 1899, p. 5.

⁸⁹ The estates above £100,000 related to Viscountess Ossington (died in 1889), Lady Jane Dundas (died in 1897) and Lady Harriet Leslie Melville (died in 1898).

London. This was either through having a London address or through having held a curacy or incumbency in the dioceses of London or Rochester. For example, the Reverend Alfred Povah (1824-1901) left £3,000 to the BLF, specifically to be used for endowment. Povah's whole clerical career had been connected to London.⁹⁰ In contrast, the Reverend John Henry Ellis (1840-1912) had not held any London incumbencies. His clerical career was spent in the counties of Kent, Buckinghamshire and Wiltshire. At his death, however, he was living in South Kensington. From his estate valued at £184,706, he left three bequests to the BLF, ELCF and the Bishop of St Albans' Fund for £10,000 each.⁹¹

The geographical spread of legators was quite wide. BLF legators were predominantly from London and the Home Counties. In addition to this the towns of Brighton, Tunbridge Wells, Torquay, Bournemouth and Eastbourne were well represented; providing the BLF with fourteen legators. As explained previously, in Chapter 4, these may have been from individuals who had retired to the country. The ELCF also received most of its bequests from people living in London and the Home counties. For example, two members of the Charrington brewing family left money to the ELCF: Miss Emma Charrington (1807-1899) left £1,000 and Miss Marian Charrington (1817-1907) £3,000; Marian requested that her bequest be made anonymously as she did not want her name to appear in the newspapers. In addition, the seaside towns of Bournemouth, Eastbourne, Hastings, Brighton and Torquay were well represented with eleven bequests. For example, George John Fenwick (1821-1913) was a brewer and banker who had retired from Marylebone to live in Bournemouth: Fenwick

⁹⁰ Curate of St James, Westminster, 1847-50; Curate of St Saviour, Southwark, 1850-52; Curate of St Alphage, London Wall, 1852-53; Lecturer and Curate of St Andrew, Undershaft, 1853-60; Headmaster St Saviour School, Southwark, 1850-58; Under Master Dulwich College, 1858-60; Rector of St Olave, 1860; Rector of St Olave with All Hallows Staining, City, 1870; Rural Dean of the East City, 1885.

⁹¹ *The Times*, 4 January 1913, p. 9.

gave the ELCF a £2,000 bequest from his estate of £1,186,845.⁹² Lacking an extensive network of associations, the LDHM's bequests were consequently mainly from London residents. For example: the £1,000 bequest from the London lace manufacturer George Moore (1806-1876) and the £132 bequest from Maurice Bernays (1795-1877), a resident at the Charterhouse. Bernays had been a languages teacher, under Bishop Tait, at Rugby School.⁹³ As mentioned, the largest bequest, across all of the organisations, came from Miss Maria Mary Fussell (1834-1881). Her fortune came from the family's ironworks company in Somerset.⁹⁴

Bequests to the ELCF and BLF were an important source of income. Each society received a steady stream of bequests annually. It is difficult to compare the two societies, as the ELCF was established nearly twenty years after the BLF; having said that though, the figures indicate that the ELCF was beginning to catch up on the number of bequests that the BLF received annually by the 1910s. The gender of legators was predominantly female for the ELCF (73 per cent female: 54 women and 20 men) and LDHM (65 per cent female: 11 women and 6 men), whereas the gender balance was more equal for the BLF (49 per cent female: 84 women and 87 men). On average, legators to the BLF were much wealthier than the legators to the other organisations: the majority of the legators to the BLF had a probate estate of more than £10,000 (See Table 5.4). This indicates that the high profile of the BLF attracted a different class of funder. In contrast, the bequests to the LDHM were principally for small amounts and were mainly from women. The amounts received by the BLF, ELCF and LDHM were, however, dwarfed by the large volume of bequests received by the LCM.

⁹² William D Rubinstein, 'The Social Origins and Career Patterns of Oxford and Cambridge Matriculants, 1840-1900', *Historical Research*, 82:218 (Nov 2009), p. 727.

⁹³ Bernays' bequest was in the form of a legacy to Archbishop Tait 'to be employed at the discretion of his Grace for the express purpose of preaching the Gospel to the people of London as a token of acknowledgement on my part for the participation in the benefits of a London benevolent foundation'. Quote taken from Maurice Bernay's Will filed at HMRC, Probate Division, High Holborn, London.

⁹⁴ See Robin Thornes, *Men of iron: The Fussells of Mells* (Frome: Frome Society for Local Study, 2010), p. 59; Newton Crosland, *Rambles Round my Life. An autobiography, 1819-1896* (London: E.W. Allen, 1898), Chapter 8: 'The story of the Count and Countess de Gendre'; *The Times*, 9 February 1871, p. 11.

This volume was a consequence of the LCM's much larger network of organisations and much larger volume of annual contributors. Although bequests were a useful supplemental source of income, the lifeblood of the organisation was income from donations and annual subscriptions.

2.5 Summary for Male Organisations

This analysis has found that the most prominent supporters of the LDHM, ELCF and BLF were City bankers, a few members of the landed gentry, and a succession of bishops of London. Large contributions to the LCM were less frequent and mainly came from members of the same two families of City financiers and brewers. The LDHM, BLF and ELCF show no Church party bias in their funder-base and this matches their mixed-party committee profile. The LCM, in contrast, was an interdenominational evangelical society and its prominent funders were a mixture of Anglican and Nonconformist evangelicals. Despite these similarities and differences, all of the male societies to different extents experienced a decline in male support. The evaluation has demonstrated that though the income for the male organisations chosen for this study remained relatively stable, the Anglican community's support (in terms of subscriptions and donations) had declined in some aspects. The analysis proposed that there were two different models of change in funder support in this period. 'Model One' was experienced by the BLF, ELCF and the LCM. These societies all experienced a decline in the number of male subscribers. This change was most pronounced in the subscription lists of the BLF which managed to retain its level of supporters but also experienced a shift in its supporter base, with a move from the supporters being predominantly men to being predominantly women. The ELCF experienced both a decline in the health of its finances and a decline in the number of supporters; and like the BLF it also experienced shift in its funder-base. Finally, the experience of the LCM was one of no significant funding shift in terms of its supporters or in terms of the level of financial support, although it did experience a decrease in

its proportion of male supporters but not to the same degree as the Anglican organisations. In contrast, 'Model Two' experienced by the LDHM was one of straightforward decline, both financially and in terms of its support numerically; this numerical decline being seen across all of its supporters. In conjunction with this decline and shift in supporter base, the societies also experienced a change in the size of contribution. In conclusion, bringing these different elements together, the typical funder of the BLF, ELCF and LCM in the latter years was a woman giving a very small amount.

This section has looked in detail at funding sources for the men's organisations. Overall, by the end of the period the Anglican laity's financial support for the organisations had declined or in some cases virtually ceased altogether. By 1914, the LDHM has practically ceased to receive any income from the laity. The ELCF, which still received the bulk of its funding from the laity, was by 1914 worried about its declining support. The only society that bucked this trend is the BLF which had increased its number of subscriptions and donations by 1912. In summary, the three male Anglican organisations had all experienced significant funding changes within the period. Analysis of these changes has highlighted the disappearance of the middle-class man from the society's subscription lists in the later period. In contrast, the fortunes of the interdenominational LCM had not experienced the volatility of the Anglican organisations and had remained quite stable within the same period. This is because the LCM was not dependent upon the support of the wealthy businessman and therefore did not experience this funding shift. This 'loss' of the wealthy businessman as a financial supporter will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

PART 3 - Financial Health and the Financial Supporters: the Female Organisations

3.1 Introduction

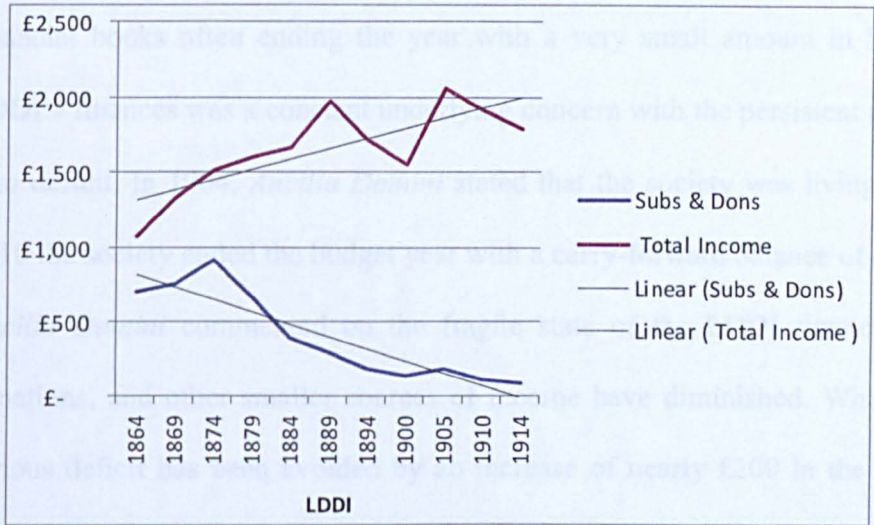
The income levels of the female voluntary organisations chosen for this study experienced different fortunes. The income of the LDDI remained consistently within the £1,500 to £2,000 band, whereas the income of the PMWA steadily declined through the period. This section follows the structure of the previous section on male societies. It will suggest that both female societies experienced 'Model 2' in terms of their financial support. This model indicates a decline in both male and female supporters. The funding stream figures for these societies can be found in Tables 1.4 and 1.5. The subscription list analysis is contained in Table 2.14 to Table 5.65. It will first evaluate the financial health of each organisation before going on to discuss the subscription analysis in terms of class, gender and size of contribution. The section will then evaluate the prominent funders of the female organisations in order to establish a common funder profile; this analysis will look initially at subscriptions and donations, and then bequests.

3.2 The Female Organisations: Financial Health and Analysis of Financial Supporters

3.2.1 London Diocesan Deaconess Institution

Financial Health

Figure 13 – Comparison of LDDI ‘total income’ and ‘subscription and donation’ income stream. Information taken from Table 1.4.



The LDDI annual income figures demonstrate a high degree of steadiness throughout the period 1861 to 1914 (see Table 1.4). Virtually all LDDI income came from four sources: payments from deaconesses; mission payments; dividend income; and voluntary contributions. However, the financial importance of different funding streams varied considerably through the period. In 1865 subscriptions and donations accounted for £705 of total income, but by 1914 they had fallen to only amount to £87. This loss in subscription and donation income was compensated for by rising income in other categories. In 1865 the LDDI received no money from dividend returns on investments, but by 1914 this source was responsible for £221 of total income. Payments from missions rose from £57 in 1865 to £516 in 1914. And likewise, contributions from deaconesses rose from being responsible for £211 in 1865 to £923 in 1914. In summary, during the period the LDDI became more reliant upon financial support from its

annual grant from the BLF, payments from the missions in which they worked, and contributions from the deaconesses.

The reason for this shift was not because the LDDI were comfortably off and had stopped soliciting new subscriptions and donations. In fact, the very reverse was true, with the LDDI financial books often ending the year with a very small amount in hand. The state of the LDDI's finances was a constant underlying concern with the persistent possibility of an end of year deficit. In 1904, *Ancilla Domini* stated that the society was living 'hand to mouth'.⁹⁵ In 1910 the society ended the budget year with a carry-forward balance of only £14. An article in *Ancilla Domini* commented on the fragile state of the LDDI finances: 'We have had no donations, and other smaller sources of income have diminished. What would have made a serious deficit has been avoided by an increase of nearly £200 in the Sisters' contributions, which amounted to more than half of the whole available income.'⁹⁶ In 1912 the LDDI again expressed its concern regarding the diminishing sum being subscribed to them saying that even a small subscription to receive the society's magazine *Ancilla Domini* would be of assistance.⁹⁷

The state of the society's funds affected the work that the deaconesses could carry out. For example, in 1881, the LDDI was forced to close its nursing ward because 'funds were insufficient to maintain so costly a work'; in its place it opened a cheaper industrial home for girls.⁹⁸ The biggest demand on their annual budget was the cost of building repairs, in particular the ongoing problem with the state of their drains. Throughout the years 'Special Appeals' were launched to meet these additional burdens. In 1889, the cost of the drain repairs

⁹⁵ *AD*, No. 66, April 1904, p. 87.

⁹⁶ *AD*, No. 94, April 1911, p. 21.

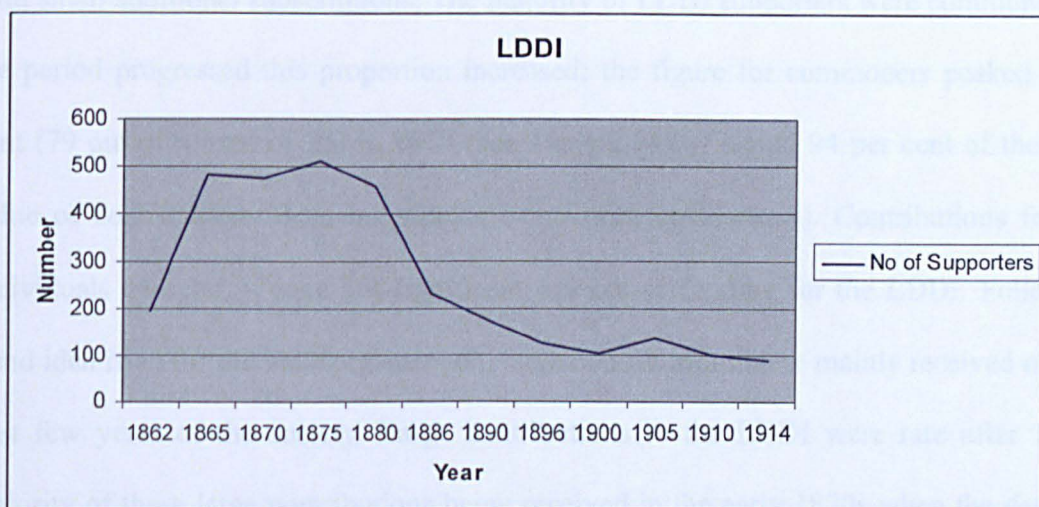
⁹⁷ *AD*, No. 98, April 1912, p. 25.

⁹⁸ *AD*, No. 1, March 1887, p. 2.

was £389, nearly half of this sum being donated by an anonymous donor.⁹⁹ Just a few years later, in 1894, new building repairs were again placing a burden on the society.¹⁰⁰ It should also be borne in mind that the society was increasing in size in this period; the number of deaconesses had risen to 34 in 1899. So mirroring the financial position of the LDHM, by 1914 despite numerous appeals the laity's support of the society had virtually dried up; with essentially all income, in the later period, coming from deaconess payments, mission payments and interest.

Funder-base Analysis

Figure 14 – Number of LDDI supporters. Information taken from Table 2.14.



The number of supporters of the female societies was far more modest in number than the level of support received by the male societies. Contributions to the LDDI peaked in the period 1865 to 1880. This peak coincided with the fundraising campaign to build the new deaconess home in Tavistock Crescent (see Table 2.14). The number of contributions to the LDDI then declined on an annual basis from the mid 1870s. For example, in 1890 the LDDI

⁹⁹ *AD*, No. 8, July 1889, p. 127.

¹⁰⁰ *AD*, No. 30, January 1895, p. 163.

received 178 contributions, and in 1914 only 88 contributions. The bulk of the financial supporters of the LDDI and PMWA were women. Over the whole period, the LDDI received 79 per cent (8,379 out of a total of 10,619) of its gender-identified contributions from women. (In financial value terms this equated to 85 per cent of contributions being given by women). The proportion of female supporters of the LDDI remained fairly level, at a range of 70 to 80 per cent until 1892; this gradually increased until it reached 94 per cent (78 out of a total of 83) in 1914. In addition, within the female sector, more of the funders were spinsters at the end of the period. In 1870, 27 per cent of the female funders were spinsters; this proportion rose throughout the period to 74 per cent in 1914. This can partly be accounted for by the fact that in the latter years the deaconesses themselves were supplementing the society's funds with small additional subscriptions. The majority of LDDI supporters were commoners and as the period progressed this proportion increased; the figure for commoners peaked at 95 per cent (79 out of a total of 83) in 1914 (see Table 2.24). (Overall 94 per cent of the financial value of contributions from individuals came from commoners). Contributions from titled individuals and clergy were not significant sources of funding for the LDDI. Following the trend identified for the male organisation, large contributions were mainly received only in the first few years of the society. Large contributions to the LDDI were rare after 1877; the majority of these large contributions being received in the early 1870s when the deaconesses were raising funds for their new home (see Table 2.44). Analysis of the contribution of under £2 shows that 83 per cent of contributions in 1865 were for under £2 (401 out of a total of 482); by 1912 this proportion had increased to 95 per cent (89 out of 94).

The profile of the typical funder for the LDDI only changed subtly throughout the period; it remained constant as a woman giving a small amount annually; the only change was that the woman in the latter part of the period was more likely to be a spinster. The experience of this

society is of 'Model 2' which represents an overall decline in both male and female supporters.

3.2.2. Parochial Mission Women Association

Financial Health

As very few annual reports of the PMWA survive, it is necessary to use the annual income figures from the *Official Yearbook of the Church of England* and *Herbert Fry's Royal Guide to the London Charities* for this analysis. An examination of PMWA income, in the period 1860 to 1914, shows a clear decline in income from a peak in 1885. The annual income figures quoted in these directories were: £4,077 (1870); £6,196 (1875); £5,756 (1880); £7,247 (1885); £5,322 (1895); £3,887 (1905); and £2,899 (1914).¹⁰¹ Table 1.5 gives a breakdown of funding streams for the PMWA. The society's minute books illustrate the society's constant concern regarding money from the 1880s onwards. By 1892 the society was considering closing some of its missions.¹⁰² William Frederick Danvers Smith, second Viscount Hambleden (1868–1928), Chair of the 1899 annual meeting, expressed his concern at the decrease in subscriptions and donations; this decline meant that the association had to refuse requests for mission women.¹⁰³ This shrinkage in funds was reiterated in 1906 again by the Chair of the annual meeting.¹⁰⁴ An extensive appeal to elicit new supporters, endorsed by the Bishop of London, was carried out in 1907 but the response was not 'encouraging'.¹⁰⁵ In 1908 again the society appealed for new supporters saying that its 'income has been seriously diminished by the death and removal of old subscribers'.¹⁰⁶ Even an attempt to hold an appeal

¹⁰¹ As previously stated these can only be used as guide figures. Because of the absence of PMWA annual reports it was not possible to produce a graph that illustrated the subscription income stream contextualised against the overall income amount.

¹⁰² LPL Ms. 1689, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1890–94, 10 March 1892.

¹⁰³ LDM, July 1899, pp. 226–27.

¹⁰⁴ LDM, June 1906, p. 187.

¹⁰⁵ LDM, July 1907, p. 225.

¹⁰⁶ LDM, December 1908, p. 380.

in aid of the society's fiftieth jubilee in 1910 failed to solicit new funds.¹⁰⁷ By 1914 the committee was forced to withdraw some of its mission women from a number of parishes.¹⁰⁸ In 1917, the society committee began to consider winding up the fund, finally closing the PMWA down in November 1923.¹⁰⁹

In 1900, the *Daily Express* stated in an article titled 'War injures a charity' that the PMWA was suffering a loss in income because 'the claims of war funds have diverted money away from it'.¹¹⁰ The PMWA may have been affected by the war but, as already stated, the PMWA income figures were already in decline before the Boer War started and declined continually from 1885 onwards. By 1888 the PMWA had practically exhausted its £1,500 'Working Fund'; a separate account created to ensure that the society always had reserves to meet payments.¹¹¹ This 'Working Fund' had not been replenished when used and instead had been gradually emptied by payments to meet annual deficits. The PMWA made regular use of its overdraft facility from 1897; with this becoming a virtually permanent monthly feature from the end of 1912. At the end of 1914, the PMWA managed to pay off most of its overdraft by selling nearly £1,000 worth of stock.¹¹² Despite this the overdraft continued to feature nearly every month and was not cleared until the society sold all of its stock in the months prior to the winding up of the society at the end of 1923.

¹⁰⁷ *LDM*, July 1910, p. 219.

¹⁰⁸ *LDM*, December 1914, p. 365; LPL Ms. 1693, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1909-16, 24 April 1913.

¹⁰⁹ LPL Ms. 1693A, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1916-23, 11 October 1917 and 30 November 1923.

¹¹⁰ *Daily Express*, 7 July 1900, p. 5.

¹¹¹ LPL Ms. 1690, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1894-98, 15 October 1896.

¹¹² LPL Ms. 1693, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1909-16, 22 October 1914. This stock was the bequest from Lady Hatherley.

Funder-base Analysis

Only two subscriptions lists are available for the PMWA; these are for the years 1861 and 1864. These show that the PMWA received about 400 contributions annually (see Table 2.15). Mirroring the profile of the LDDI, the bulk of the PMWA's financial supporters were women. The PMWA received an average of 73 per cent (544 out of a total of 748) of the gender identified contributions from women. (In financial value terms women gave an average of 55 per cent of contributions). Not unsurprisingly, given the high number of titled ladies on its committee, the PMWA has a much higher proportion of titled supporters (see Table 2.25). The average proportion of titled contributors for the PMWA was 44 per cent (341 out of a total of 767); 46 per cent of the contributors were commoners (355) and 9 per cent were clergy (71). (In financial value terms, 55 per cent of total contributions came from titled people). No long-term data is available within the period to give comparable information for the PMWA but their typical funder in the 1860s was a woman giving between £2 and £10. In 1918, in line with the other organisations, the typical funder was a woman giving less than £1. In summary, it is likely that the experience of this society is of 'Model 2' which represents a decline in both male and female supporters.

3.3 The Female Organisations: an Analysis of Prominent Subscribers and Donors

Unlike the male societies, there were no funders prominent financially in both the LDDI and PMWA. The lack of shared funder-base was because the supporter network of the female societies was principally drawn from the family and friends of the committee. The typical profile of the principal funders therefore closely matched the committee profile. Many of the prominent funders (see Tables 4.4 and 4.5) were committee members or were relatives of committee members. For example, the PMWA co-founder and President, Lady Montagu of Beaulieu was one of the top funders of the PMWA; as was her mother, Georgiana Elizabeth

Stuart-Wortley-Mackenzie, Lady Wharncliffe (d. 1884); her cousin Lady Victoria Welby-Gregory (1837-1912) and her cousin's husband: Conservative MP, Sir William Earle Welby-Gregory (1829-1898). Likewise, several of Lady Lucy Caroline Cavendish's (1841-1925) family subscribed to the Fund. She was a Lady Manager of the PMWA for over forty years between 1877 and 1921. The fund was supported by her father (George William Lyttelton, fourth Baron Lyttelton), grandmother (Sarah Lyttelton, Dowager Lady Lyttelton, 1787-1870), and aunt (Miss Caroline Lyttelton, 1816-1902). The funders of the PMWA, therefore, generally came from a small network of family, friends and society contacts.

In parallel with the PMWA, analysis of the LDDI subscription lists shows that the majority of the individuals named in Table 4.4 were committee members or members of their family. One example of support from a particular family can be seen in contributions given by two generations of the Doxat family between 1861 and 1903, giving a total of £1,098 during this period. The family money came from the family firm Doxat and Company which traded in wool. The LDDI received contributions from 'The Misses Doxat' who were three spinster daughters: Lavinia (1816-1890), Mary (1818-1904) and Harriet (1820-1903). Lavinia was on the committee of the LDDI from its inception in 1861 until her death in 1890.¹¹³ Charles Doxat (1813-1871), Lavinia's cousin, was the society's treasurer from 1861 until his death in 1871.¹¹⁴ In addition, a survey of the surnames of the deaconesses demonstrates that roughly half of the deaconess surnames appear in the subscription lists. For example the family of Deaconess Jane Willis Field (1836-1891) subscribed to the LDDI.

¹¹³ CSA Ms. LDDI Finance Committee Minute Book, 1869-75, 21 November 1873.

¹¹⁴ There have not been any LDDI deaconesses with the surname Doxat. There is possibly a family connection between the Ferards and the Doxats. The mothers of 'The Misses Doxat' and Elizabeth Ferard both had the surname Clementson.

The PMWA did not receive any contributions of a significant size from clergymen; this reflected the absence of clerical involvement in the society's committee. In contrast, the LDDI received several large contributions from this source. For example, Edward Hood Linzee (1815-1895), Vicar of Bracknell between 1854 and 1861, was on the LDDI committee from 1866 to 1878.¹¹⁵ In 1873, he was the central committee figure involved in the search and purchase of a new Home for the LDDI; he personally loaned the LDDI the purchase money of £6,000 for the new LDDI home in Tavistock Crescent.¹¹⁶ In addition, to financial support from family, friends and committee members, the LDDI also received financial support from people living in the immediate locality; the deaconesses moved to the Paddington area in the 1870s with the building of their new home in Westbourne Park. This relationship was with both local clergy and local laity. For example, Edward Meyrick Goulburn (1818-1897), later Dean of Norwich, had been Vicar of Paddington between 1859 and 1866.¹¹⁷ Also Elizabeth Von Mumm (d. 1917) lived in the parish of St Johns, Paddington. She was born in Ireland and was the widow of a wine merchant. Again, this analysis demonstrates that the funders of the LDDI came from a small network of family, friends and local contacts. These individuals can be connected to the LDDI through its committee, through family links, and links with the local community. The funder-base of the LDDI, therefore, shared many characteristics with the PMWA.

3.4 The Female Organisations: an Analysis of the Legators

The LDDI and PMWA received a relatively small number of bequests: the LDDI received thirteen and the PMWA received eighteen. The female societies received much smaller bequests in terms of value than the male societies. The average (mean) bequest to the LDDI

¹¹⁵ *Seventeenth LDDI Annual Report*, p. 10. No incumbency is listed after Bracknell.

¹¹⁶ *Seventeenth LDDI Annual Report*, p. 10; *Twelfth LDDI Annual Report*, p. 5; CSA Ms. LDDI Finance Committee Minutes, 1869-75, see minutes for period March to May 1873.

¹¹⁷ A. F. Pollard, 'Goulburn, Edward Meyrick (1818-1897)', rev. M. C. Curthoys, *ODNB*.

was £204 and to the PMWA was £101. Neither the LDDI nor the PMWA received any bequests above £1,000; the largest bequest to each organisation was for £500 (See Tables 5.64 and 5.65). The profile of the people leaving bequests to the female organisations models the profile of the people making contributions to the female societies, in that the support was principally from committee members and their friends and family. Virtually all legacies to the LDDI and PMWA were from women (see Table 5.1); many of these were closely involved in the working of these organisations, either as committee members, associates or as deaconesses. Individuals, such as Lady Charlotte Hatherley and Miss Laura Oldfield were committee members. Many of the bequests made to the female organisations were not formally recorded in a will: instead an informal instruction was left with the family. An example of this is the instance of Lady Hatherley's bequest to the PMWA. Although Lady Hatherley did not leave a will, she instructed her husband to sell her jewels and to give the money raised to the PMWA. Because of this close connection between bequests and the PMWA committee members, the PMWA was the only female society which had a proportionally large number of titled legators; four of the 18 (22 per cent) bequests to the PMWA came from titled individuals.

Following the pattern of the PMWA, most of the large bequests to the LDDI came from people closely associated with it. Eliza Mary Hankin (1837-1908), Marian Christiana Heale (1850-1910); Anne Jane Woodall Field (1838-1889) and Mary Elizabeth Overton Field (1841-1878) were all deaconesses of the LDDI.¹¹⁸ Joseph Sherwood (1809-1888) was a committee member and Jane Harriet Doxat (1792-1878) was the aunt of a committee member. Virtually all of the legators to the female societies had a connection with London. All traced legators to the PMWA had London addresses. And only one legator to the LDDI had a non London

¹¹⁸ Anne Jane Woodall Field and Mary Elizabeth Overton Field were siblings. Mary was the second LDDI Head Sister.

address; that was Miss Hannah Brackenbury (1796-1873) of Brighton who bequeathed £200 to the LDDI. In conclusion, income from legacies was not a significant source for either the LDDI or PMWA; all legacies were of a small amount (less than £500) and generally came from women who had a close involvement with the organisation.

This section has shown that the two female organisations shared the same supporter profile in terms of donors, subscribers and legators. Both societies solicited their largest contributions from the society's own committee members, volunteers and their extended family and friends. Consequently, the funders of these organisations matched the High Church profile of the committees of these organisations. This suggests that the PMWA's efforts to advertise widely in both Evangelical and High Church publications failed to bear fruit. The network of support for the two female societies was, therefore, actually more semi-public in nature because on the whole they drew funds from a more limited field of acquaintances. The female societies lacked the supportive diocesan infrastructure of local associations and this made them more dependent upon the contacts either in the immediate locality or through social contacts.

3.5 Summary for Female Organisations

Analysis in the case of the female societies has shown that the income of the LDDI remained relatively stable within the period, whereas the income of PMWA showed clear decline. As with the male organisations, the LDDI experienced a decrease in the size of contributions. This phenomenon was commented upon in *Ancilla*, in 1912: 'We note the slowly diminishing contributions year by year, not subscribers we are glad to say, but the amount subscribed. This means of course that old friends pass away, and those who succeed them are not able to help

to the same amount.’¹¹⁹ The experience of the LDDI mirrors the experience of the LDHM (Model 2) one of absolute decline in the number of financial supporters, a decline that is mapped across all demographics and also reflects a diminution in the typical size of contribution. It is likely the PMWA also shared this model (Model 2) of experience.

At this point it must be reiterated that the PMWA drew a high proportion of its subscriptions and donations from the family and friends of the committee. This point is significant because by the 1910s the PMWA had an elderly committee. Looking at the 1911 committee, for example, it can be observed that the size of the committee was declining and that the average age of a committee member was increasing. By 1911 the PMWA committee had not had a new member for nine years and many of the ladies on the 1911 committee had been members for decades. Of the seven ladies on the committee in 1911 the majority were in their mid sixties, the eldest being 79 years old.¹²⁰ To ensure their survival, societies need ‘new blood’ both in terms of committee members and funders, and this lack of steady turnover in support can reasonably be proposed as being one of the key factors that led to the PMWA’s decline and eventual demise. Likewise, the LDDI at the beginning of the twentieth century had a much smaller and mainly clerical committee of deaconesses and London clergy. The prominent and wealthy lay committee members of the 1880s and 1890s had died and a new generation of lay committee members had failed to come forward.¹²¹ Again, this is likely to be a key factor in its financial decline. In conclusion, the female societies’ lack of infrastructure and network of provincial and metropolitan local associations made them more financially vulnerable than the male organisations. Both of these female organisations showed clear

¹¹⁹ *AD*, No. 98, April 1912, p. 25.

¹²⁰ I have been able to identify six of the seven women on the committee. Their ages ranged from 58 years old to 79 years old. The committee meeting chosen was for 12 January 1911. LPL Ms. 1693 PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1909-16, 12 January 1911.

¹²¹ For example: Joseph Sherwood (died 1888); Miss Lavinia Doxat (died 1890); Lady Emily Pepys (died 1891); Janet Sinclair, Countess of Caithness (died 1906).

evidence of a decline in their number of financial supporters, with a consequential impact on the income derived from subscriptions and donations.

PART 4 – Conclusions Drawn from Supporter Analysis

4. Interpretation of Findings

The collection of funds for the male societies was guaranteed by their extensive networks of associations. These associations solicited funds from a wide geographical spread of the laity. In contrast, the female societies solicited funds from a more limited semi-public field mainly of friends and family of the committee. This lack of infrastructure and dependence on a committee for financial support meant that the female societies were more financially vulnerable. Unfortunately, the female societies were not able fully to utilise their links with the Bishop's wife and the WDA to create a network of supporters. It is ironic that these connections were used to better effect for the BLF which managed to financially rally the women in the diocese to come to its aid. This again highlights the fact that a large infrastructure was the key to successful fundraising.

Two models represent the different experiences of the societies in terms of laity support: 'Model 1' shows a decline in male supporters; 'Model 2' which represents a decline in both male and female supporters. A survey of the subscription lists of six societies discussed reveals three significant phenomena. Firstly, that generally the number of supporters declined. Five of the societies experienced a decline in the size of their supporter base; only the BLF increased its number of supporters. Secondly, the number of male supporters declined. Thirdly, in some cases the number of female supporters increased.

The phenomenon of overall decline of supporters numerically is noteworthy because the population was expanding rapidly in this period. The principal cause of this population explosion was a decline in mortality; the life expectancy in London increased from 30 years in 1811 to 52 in 1911.¹²² In conjunction with this the population size of the Diocese of London grew accordingly, from 2,143,340 in 1851 to 3,811,827 in 1911. This growth was also within the context of major diocesan restructuring within the period which diminished the geographical size and population of the Diocese.¹²³ This increase in population did not result in increased support for these societies.

Furthermore, the proportion of female supporters increased during the period. This was the case with the BLF, ELCF, LCM and LDDI. This proportional increase in female supporters did not always mean that there had been a corresponding numerical increase. A numerical increase in female supporters only occurred in the BLF subscription lists. Analysis of the ELCF subscription lists shows an increase in the number of female supporters coinciding with the society's twenty-fifth anniversary in 1905, but the number of female supporters declines from this point. Several factors could have impacted on female contributions within the period. Mrs Creighton's presidency of the WDA exactly covered the period which witnessed an increase in female supporters to the BLF. Sean Gill argues that, during the Victorian and Edwardian period, all parties of the Church of England experienced increased participation by women. He calls this the 'the feminization of the Church'.¹²⁴ At the start of the twentieth century, the *Daily News* Census surveyed church attendance in Greater London in the period November 1902 to November 1903. In terms of gender, the *Daily News* Census calculated that women made up 65.5 per cent of adult Anglican worshippers. The figures showed that more

¹²² Burnett, *Cost of Living*, p. 191. Ball and Sutherland, *Economic History of London*, p. 26 and p. 44.

¹²³ Walsh, *Progress of the Church in London* (1887), p. 42; Jackson, *Charge 1871*, p. 11; *Report of the Proceedings of Church Congress*, 1899, pp. 34-35.

¹²⁴ Sean Gill, *Women and the Church of England* (London: SPCK, 1994), pp. 76-77 and p. 83.

women than men, numerically, attended both the morning and evening services, with attendances for both sexes being higher in the evening.¹²⁵ The female proportion was more pronounced in West London where women made up 69 per cent of morning adult worshippers and 70 per cent of evening adult worshippers. The explanation given for this was that wealthy Anglicans that resided in West London had more female domestic servants.¹²⁶ Charles Booth in *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1903) noted that: 'Throughout London the female sex forms the mainstay of every religious assembly of whatever class.'¹²⁷ Jeffrey Cox also commented, in *The English Churches in a Secular Society*, on the higher proportion of female church attendance in Lambeth.¹²⁸ However, this increased religiosity of women would reasonably be expected to impact on all of the finances of these organisations. Instead, the increase in female supporters (in terms of volume) was only experienced by the BLF and briefly by the ELCF. As previously stated, it is reasonable to argue that this increase in female numbers was as a result of the galvanisation of the female associations in this period. The crucial point, however, is that the analysis of the subscriptions lists has shown that it was the decline in male supporters that is the noteworthy phenomenon in this period.

Prochaska also noted an increase in female contributions during the course of the nineteenth century. In forty-five of the fifty societies that he investigated, the proportion of female subscribers increased as the century progressed. However, it is worth emphasising that Prochaska's comment related to the proportion of contributors not the volume. In some of the examples that he cites, this proportional increase in female supporters does not indicate a great revival in female philanthropy but rather a decline in male contributions. For example,

¹²⁵ Richard Mudie-Smith, *The Religious Life of London* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), p. 446.

¹²⁶ Mudie-Smith, *Religious Life of London*, p. 91.

¹²⁷ Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London, Third Series: Religious Influences, Vol. 7: Summary* (London: Macmillan, 1902), p. 424.

¹²⁸ Cox, *The English Churches*, p. 25.

Prochaska calculates that the percentage of female supporters rose from 12 to 40 per cent between 1805 and 1895 for the British and Foreign Bible Society.¹²⁹ However, close analysis of Prochaska's figures for this charity shows that the number of supporters had fallen significantly between 1854 and 1895. Within this period the number of female supporters remained quite constant but the number of male supporters fell by a third. Likewise, Prochaska calculates that the percentage of female supporters rose from 12 to 49 per cent between 1801 and 1900 for the CMS. However, the number of female supporters of the CMS was very similar in the two selected years of 1825 (535 female subscribers out of a total of 1,868) and 1900 (522 female subscribers out of a total of 1,064), whereas the number of male supporters fell from 1,333 to 542. In conclusion, the fact that a bigger percentage of the supporters were female in some cases reflects the decline in male supporters rather than an actual increase in the number of female ones.

This confirms the findings of the analysis in this chapter which highlighted a decline in male contributions. A decline in male supporters was experienced by the BLF, ELCF, LDHM, LCM and LDDI. This falling away of male supporters was important to the charitable organisation for two reasons. Men typically gave larger contributions than women. This is the main reason that the trend experienced by these organisations was for the size of the contribution to diminish over time. Also the decline in male supporters impacted on the number of corporate bodies that subscribed or donated, with the BLF, ELCF and LDHM all experiencing a decline in income from corporate sources (discussed further in Chapter 6).

Various social and economic factors had the potential to impact on male levels of giving, both positively and negatively. Firstly, there is no indication that the increase in wealth-holding had

¹²⁹ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 29 and p. 231.

a positive impact on income levels; the historian W.D. Rubinstein found that there was an increase in the number of very wealthy men in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹³⁰ Secondly, the population increase slowed at the end of the century as people deliberately acted to limit their family size; this reduction in the number of children, from the 1870s, meant that the family had more disposable income and was better fed.¹³¹ Again, this development did not have a positive impact on the level of contributions to the societies. In respect of an event which could have had a negative impact, it is also worth reiterating that the agricultural depression did not impact on the level of contributions made by titled people to these organisations.¹³² Finally, again relating to economic measures which could have had a negative impact, the introduction of national insurance contributions and the super tax (in the period 1909 to 1911) would have impacted on household incomes and therefore affected levels of giving but not to the degree that it would have impacted greatly on the disposable incomes of the very wealthy. In addition, the period 1896 to 1914 experienced a period of moderate inflation caused by a large increase in the world's gold stocks due to the development of the South African goldfields.¹³³ This had an impact on the prices of goods, meaning that real wages (the purchasing power of the wage) declined in the period 1900 to 1914.¹³⁴ However, the decline in male giving in all instances had commenced long before these events happened. Having failed to find a general economic explanation for the decline in male giving, Chapter 7 will posit a theological explanation. This chapter will discuss the ethos of giving in the late nineteenth century in the context of the teaching of Christian stewardship,

¹³⁰ W.D. Rubinstein, *Wealth and Inequality in Britain* (London: Faber, 1986), p. 94. This point will be explored further in Chapter 8.

¹³¹ Burnett, *Cost of Living*, p. 191; Ball and Sutherland, *Economic History of London*, pp. 45-46.

¹³² Individuals such as the Duke of Westminster and the Duke of Bedford derived their income from rental on property not on agricultural land.

¹³³ Burnett, *Cost of Living*, pp. 204-05, p. 254 and p. 257.

¹³⁴ Burnett, *Cost of Living*, p. 257; M.J. Daunton, *House and Home in the Victorian City: Working Class Housing 1850-1914* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), p. 289.

the doctrine of giving. Firstly though, Chapter 6 will discuss contributions from corporate bodies.

Chapter 6 - Corporate Bodies as Financial Supporters

1. Introduction

This chapter analyses contributions which were not made in the names of individuals or groups of individuals (e.g., 'Mrs F.G. Davidson's servants'). These have been loosely given the term 'corporate body' for this purpose. The category encompasses businesses, charities, livery companies and public bodies. The economic activities of these corporate bodies have been classified according to the Standard Industrial Classification utilised by W.D. Rubinstein in his book *Men of Property* (1981) to categorise the sources of individual wealth: for example coal-mining and textile-manufacturing are classified as 'Manufacturing and Industry', while merchant banking, insurance and retail trading (the selling of goods without involvement in their manufacture) are all classified as 'Commerce and Finance'. I have supplemented these industries classification with categories such as: 'Government' and 'Livery Company' (see Table 7.3 for the full categorisation).¹ The purpose of this chapter is to analyse corporate contributions in order to establish whether they, as an extension of male giving, also declined in the period.

In the historiography of philanthropy, very little research has been done on business philanthropy in the nineteenth century. David Owen dismissed the topic with these two sentences:

Business firms do not appear to have contributed heavily to philanthropic undertakings. One finds business houses often listed among the contributors to emergency and special funds, and sometimes as donors to provincial universities, but regular corporation giving was little known in Britain (save in the case of such ancient and inactive corporate bodies as the City Companies).²

¹ Livery companies are professional bodies which represent members of a trade and are not therefore categorised as the actual trade.

² Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 478.

The research that has been done on corporate philanthropy has focused on individual cases of philanthropy carried out by firms towards their own workers and the philanthropic efforts of individual businessmen: for example, David Jeremy's two books *Capitalists and Christians* (1990) and *Religion, Business and Wealth* (1998), and Ian Bradley's book *Enlightened Entrepreneurs* (1987).³ Such books have examined the philanthropic efforts of individual businessmen, such as the biscuit manufacturer George Palmer (1818-1897) whose business, Huntley and Palmer, was based in Reading.

Evidence that corporate philanthropy was more extensive than Owen suggests can be seen in the fact that over six hundred corporate bodies are listed in the charitable 'hit list' contained in the publication *The Charitable Ten Thousand*. An analysis of the funding of the organisations chosen for this study, shows that the majority of the organisations, particularly the male organisations, received sizeable and regular contributions from corporate sources. Many of these are listed in the 1896 edition of *The Charitable Ten Thousand*.⁴ In total 184 different corporate bodies subscribed or donated money to the BLF, ELCF, LDHM and LDDI (see Table 7.3).⁵ Table 7.2 lists the principal corporate funders of these organisations; the figures stated show combined income for all of the organisations. Tables 7.11 to 7.14 and Table 6.9 separately show the top corporate funders for each organisation. The dominant sources of corporate funding were livery companies, breweries and banks. Section 3 of this chapter will discuss livery companies while Section 4 covers business sources, such as breweries, banks and manufacturing. First, however, Section 2 will explain the background behind the

³ Ian C. Bradley, *Enlightened Entrepreneurs* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987).

⁴ For example: the Bank of England, Barclay Bevan Tritton and Co, Barclay Perkins and Co, Child and Co, Coutts and Co, Crosse and Blackwell, Dent Allcroft and Co, Fruhling and Goschen, Hedges and Butler, Hoare and Co, Huntley and Palmer, Knowles and Foster, Frean Peek and Co, Matheson and Co, Reid's Brewery, Truman Hanbury and Buxton. Virtually all (97 per cent) of the corporate bodies listed in this edition have London addresses.

⁵ No corporate bodies are listed in the PMWA annual reports; the Minute Books mention a few contributions from livery companies.

contributions of one public body: the Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues. Illuminating the philanthropic motive is an elusive task. This chapter will, however, attempt to suggest motives for corporate philanthropy and will consider whether corporate philanthropy can be separated from individual philanthropy.

2. The Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues (CWFLR)

Analysis of 'corporate' sources of funding in the subscription lists unexpectedly uncovered large sums of money coming from the CWFLR, which was in effect an arm of the state. During the period 1857 to 1884 the CWFLR made three large grants relating to spiritual provision in the Diocese of London, which amounted to £35,000 in total. The CWFLR was established in 1810 and came from the merger of the offices of the Surveyor General of Woods, Forests, Parks, and Chases and the Surveyor General of the Land Revenue of the Crown which had both existed since the seventeenth century.⁶ This body was responsible for the management of Crown Lands, and its origins lie in the creation of the civil list. In the seventeenth century, Parliament had begun to grow concerned about the sovereign frittering away the Crown Lands by bestowing estates as gifts to favourites, mistresses and illegitimate children.⁷ Accordingly, in 1702 an Act was passed to prevent the sovereign disposing of any more of the Crown Lands. The civil list had been introduced in 1698 when King William III was guaranteed a fixed annuity from Parliament. Its payment was made from customs and excise duties and income from the Crown Lands; the agreement was that Parliament would keep the surplus of any income from these sources, but would also be responsible for making up any deficit if these sources should fall short. When King George III acceded to the throne

⁶ The name of the body of Commissioners changed again in 1832 to the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, Land Revenues, Works, and Buildings. In 1851 it divided again to form the Commissioners of Works and Public Buildings and the Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues.

⁷ *The History and the Mystery of the Civil List. By the author of Revelations of the Pension List* (London, Willing, 1882), p. 7.

in 1760 the mechanism behind the civil list altered significantly. From this point on, the sovereign surrendered ownership of the Crown Lands to the state during the term of their life; this contract was then renewed by each succeeding monarch. In return for this surrender, the sovereign was granted an annual civil list payment. R.B. Pugh, when writing the history of the Crown Estate, stated that: 'In fact, ever since 1760 the land revenues have been looked upon as a part of the income not of the sovereign but of the state.'⁸ In 1780, Edmund Burke proposed that the Crown Lands should be sold to meet the costs of the Seven Year War. Although this idea was rejected, it prompted a wholesale survey of the Crown Estate; this survey culminated with the creation of the CWFLR in 1810.⁹ Therefore, the income at the disposal of the CWFLR was in effect state income and not Crown income.

The £35,000 that the CWFLR gave in grants to the LDCBS and BLF is significant because it has generally been thought that direct state funding of church building had ceased with the £500,000 Parliamentary grant in 1824. These grants are in effect indirect funding of church building channelled through a state agency. As explained in Chapter 2, the emancipation of Nonconformists and Roman Catholics during the late 1820s had given birth to the voluntarist movement in the early 1830s. From this point onwards, the Church experienced a reduction in the privileges granted to the Established Church and an increase in the rights granted to people of other religious faiths. An important part in this reduction of privileges was the cessation of state grants to fund Anglican church building. The timing of the first two CWFLR grants is particularly significant. These two grants were the £10,000 grant made to the LDCBS in 1857, and the £15,000 grant made to the BLF in 1865. This was a period of great debate concerning

⁸ R.B. Pugh, *The Crown Estate: An Historical Essay* (London: Crown Estate Commissioners, 1960), pp. 12-13.

⁹ Pugh, *The Crown Estate*, p. 13. Burke, a Whig MP, was a leading campaigner to limit the constitutional powers of the monarchy. In particular, he wanted to make the crown's civil list payment subject to state control. Paul Langford, 'Burke, Edmund (1729/30-1797)', *ODNB*.

the abolition of the compulsory aspect of the church rate; the church rate was eventually abolished in 1868.¹⁰ In addition, the 1857 grant to the LDCBS occurred only a few years after the abolition of royal letters in 1853 by the government on the grounds that they made too close a link between Church and Crown. Consequently, the first grant of £10,000 made by the CWFLR to the LDCBS in 1857 was quite controversial.

The granting of the sum of £10,000 to the LDCBS was vigorously debated in the House of Commons. The debate highlights the agitation at the time between Anglicans and Nonconformists over the privileged status of the Established Church. William Williams, (1788-1865) the Welsh Radical MP for Lambeth,¹¹ opened the debate by arguing that it was a pretence that this contribution came from the Crown. He argued that 'It was a contribution from taxes levied on the people at large'.¹² This viewpoint was reiterated by Charles Gilpin (1815-1874), a Quaker and Liberal MP for Northampton. Gilpin argued that it would be wrong to use the money from public property to benefit one religious group, calling it 'an infringement of the principles of religious liberty'. Even an Anglican, such as William Cox (1817-89), Liberal MP for Finsbury, stated that the grant showed unjustified favouritism to the Church of England. He stated that he would oppose the motion: 'The property belonged to the nation, for the benefit of all sects, and it could not be properly appropriated towards any one sect unless Parliament was prepared to make similar contributions towards other Churches'.¹³

The argument for the motion contended that the proposed contribution for church building was simply the discharge of a landlord's duty. James Wilson (1805-60) Liberal MP and a Quaker,

¹⁰ Ellens, *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism*.

¹¹ D. T. W. Price, 'Williams, William (1788-1865)', *ODNB*.

¹² Hansard, Commons Debates, fifth series, vol. 147, cc. 1316-64: 10 August 1857.

¹³ Hansard, Commons Debates, fifth series, vol. 147, cc. 1316-64: 10 August 1857.

defended the payment in his position as Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1853–1858).¹⁴ Wilson argued that the grant from the CWFLR was given in the same vein as the Duke of Westminster's offer of £10,000 and the Duke of Bedford's offer of £10,000. Wilson stated:

The Executive Government felt that as they were landlords it was their duty to fulfil the ordinary duties of landlords... The only ground on which this Vote was asked for was, that within the Metropolis the Crown was a large owner of property, and that it was to the interest of the Crown that it should faithfully discharge the duty of a proprietor by providing for the spiritual wants of those who dwelt upon its property.¹⁵

This viewpoint was supported by Sir Francis Thornhill Baring (1796–1866), Whig MP for Portsmouth;¹⁶ and Sir John Somerset Pakington (1799–1880), Conservative MP for Droitwich;¹⁷ Pakington said that he would not object to further amounts being given in the future.¹⁸

The motion to grant the LDCBS £10,000 was passed on 10 August 1857 with a majority of 41; the money was subsequently paid to the LDCBS in one lump sum.¹⁹ A week later, the Liberation Society, the main political pressure group campaigning for the abolition of the church rate, stated in its newspaper, *The Nonconformist*, that the 'grant of £10,000 to the Diocesan Church Building Society was a blunder which nothing can justify'.²⁰ This payment to the LDCBS set the precedent for the two BLF grants that followed it; the Treasury approval for the first £15,000 grant was given in April 1865.²¹ The grant was conditional that the money expended must relate to areas in which the Crown had some property. A *Times* article in May 1865 indirectly highlighted the ambiguity regarding the status of the Commissioners funds.

¹⁴ Ruth Dudley Edwards, 'Wilson, James (1805–1860)', *ODNB*.

¹⁵ Hansard, Commons Debates, fifth series, vol. 147, cc. 1316–64: 10 August 1857.

¹⁶ First Baron Northbrook from 1866.

¹⁷ First Baron Hampton from 1874. He was a subscriber to the LDCBS and BLF.

¹⁸ Hansard, Commons Debates, fifth series, vol. 147, cc. 1316–64: 10 August 1857.

¹⁹ The Ayes were 97 and the Noes were 56.

²⁰ *The Nonconformist*, 19 August 1857, p. 641.

²¹ TNA Ms. CRES 40/103, Memo Book of Land Revenue House Department, Letter to the Bishop of London, dated 26 April 1865; LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/02/001, BLF Executive Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1863–66, 28 April 1865.

The article referred to the payment both as 'a contribution in the name and on the part of Her Majesty' and as 'a Treasury grant'.²² A further sum of £10,000 was granted in 1875, with the last payment being made in 1884; these two BLF grants were paid in annual instalments.²³ The BLF grants provoked very little comment, although *Berrow's Worcester Journal* questioned the 'Crown's right to make the bequest after exchanging its property for a civil list'.²⁴

The Crown Estate was a major landowner in London. Its annual rental income for London in 1855 was £130,000 per annum. By 1884 this income had risen to £207,000 per annum; and had risen again by 1898 to £286,000.²⁵ For comparative purposes, the rental income of the First Duke of Westminster from his estates in Mayfair and Belgravia was £250,000 in 1899. The view of the CWFLR was that the granting of such sums was part of the Crown's costs and expenses regarding the management of the localities in which they owned property.²⁶ The annual reports of the CWFLR contain many references to land or money being granted nationally for the building of churches, parsonages or schools. For example, the 1866-67 report lists the granting of several sites to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the purposes of building a parsonage, a school and several churches.²⁷ Although the CWFLR did not give any sums of money to the MCF or BGCF, it did make grants of sites to the Church Building Commissioners in the period of Blomfield's episcopate.²⁸ The last case of land being freely granted to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was listed in the 1891-92 report, when land was

²² *The Times*, 1 May 1865, p. 10; 4 May 1865, p. 11.

²³ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/03, BLF Finance Committee Minute Book, Vol. 2 1877-89, 18 May 1884.

²⁴ *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 13 May 1865, p. 6.

²⁵ TNA Ms. CRES 40/103, Note in file dated 10 July 1885; Note dated 6 January 1899.

²⁶ TNA Ms. CRES 40/103, Letter dated 2 June 1869; Note dated 6 January 1899.

²⁷ 1867 (410) *The Forty-fifth Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues; in Obedience to the Acts of 10 George IV. (cap. 50), and 2 William IV. (cap. 1); being the Sixteenth Report under the Act of the 14 & 15 Vict. (cap. 42)*, p. 51.

²⁸ LMA Ms. FP Blomfield 58, ff. 150-51.

granted for the building of a parsonage for an incumbent in the Whaplode estate in Lincoln.²⁹ Other grants of money for the purposes of spiritual provision are listed in the Commissioners annual reports throughout the period, itemised in the accounts, under expenditure, as ‘Donations towards the Building, Enlargement, and Repairs of Churches and Parsonage Houses, and Subscriptions to Schools &c’. These grants peaked in the 1870s, with the largest amount of £7,066 being granted in 1876-77.³⁰ The specific details of these grants of money are not listed in the reports: neither the LDCBS nor BLF are directly mentioned.

In 1885, the CWFLR declined to give a further grant to the BLF because they judged that they had already ‘been very liberal in their assistance’.³¹ Their examination of the BLF annual reports showed that the amount that the Commissioners had given exceeded the amount given by any other London property owners, including the Duke of Westminster. They also felt that the spiritual needs of parishes in which the Crown had lands had been satisfied.³² Further applications instigated by the BLF, in both 1899 and 1928, were rejected on the grounds that the situation had not changed since the last application.³³

In summary, during the period 1857 to 1884 the CWFLR made three grants for church building in the Diocese of London (amounting to £35,000), making it the most significant ‘corporate’ funder of church building in this initial thirty-year period. The actions of the CWFLR demonstrate that, as one of London’s largest landholders, it had an obligation to support the Church of England. This highlights the view that the Church had an important

²⁹ 1892 (355) *The Seventieth Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, in Obedience to the Acts of 10 George IV. (cap. 50), and 2 William IV. (cap. 1); being the Forty-first report under the Act of the 14 & 15 Vict. (cap. 42)*, p. 103.

³⁰ 1877 (300) *The Fifty-fifth Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues; in Obedience to the Acts of 10 George IV. (Cap. 50), and 2 William IV. (Cap. 1); being the Twenty-sixth Report under the Act of the 14 & 15 Vict. (Cap. 42)*, p. 117. Example years: 1850-51 £776; 1860-61 £2,390; 1870-71 £5,028; 1880-81 £3,130; 1890-91 £1,421; 1900-01 £1,028; 1910-11 £141.

³¹ TNA Ms. CRES 40/103, Note in file dated 10 July 1885.

³² TNA Ms. CRES 40/103, Letter dated 24 April 1885 from the Treasury.

³³ TNA Ms. CRES 40/103, Note in file dated 6 January 1899; Minute sheet dated 1 March 1928.

social function alongside its religious function. Once the CWFLR judged that it had discharged its duty sufficiently, the renewal of the grants to the BLF stopped.

3. Worshipful Companies and the Corporation of the City of London

The source of 'corporate' funding that was most dominant across all societies was the City livery companies. These were originally established in the medieval period as guilds for particular trades; the name coming from the fact that they wore distinctive liveries. By the mid-nineteenth century, they principally acted as charitable foundations dispensing the annual income from their considerable endowments. The livery companies were subject to a Royal Commission, established in 1878, appointed to investigate the endowed charities specifically of the City of London; the livery companies emerged relatively untouched by this scrutiny.³⁴ Income for all of these Worshipful Companies was calculated, by the Royal Commissioners, for the year 1879/80 to be in the region of £750,000 to £800,000 per annum; with property of a capital value of at least £15 million.³⁵ The older and wealthier of these companies are called the 'Great Twelve'. These are listed according to annual income for 1879/80: Mercers (£82,758); Drapers (£78,654); Goldsmiths (£54,297); Fishmongers (£50,713); Clothworkers (£50,458); Merchant Taylors (£43,311); Grocers (£38,236); Haberdashers (£29,032); Skinners (£28,927); Ironmongers (£21,647); Salters (£21,040) and Vintners (£10,887). Their income came from two sources: trust income and corporate income. Trust income was income from endowments held by the livery companies with specific objects; this amounted to about £200,000. For example, the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers administered a trust for the relief of the blind. Of the £200,000, about £75,000 per year was attributed to almshouses and another £75,000 to education. Corporate income was all other income (e.g., property rental).

³⁴ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 203 and pp. 284-289.

³⁵ Richard Assheton Cross, 'City of London Livery Companies', *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 16, July 1884, p. 47.

The Mercers Company, for example, owned a large amount of property in Covent Garden. The corporate income from such sources, was used to cover all company running costs (e.g. maintenance and entertainment); the surplus, which was in the region of £150,000 per annum, was spent on 'benevolent objects'.³⁶ The livery companies were collectively, therefore, major property owners and dispensers of charity in the capital.

Of the 'Great Twelve', seven appear in Table 7.2 which lists the 'Top 20' corporate funders for all the organisations. The 'Top 10' corporate funder lists for the BLF, ELCF, LDHM and LDDI were all dominated by livery companies. This tradition of giving grants to home-missionary organisations was not new; the MCF and BGCF had between them received approximately £4,000 from eleven livery companies. Livery companies were also an important source of funding to the LCM but to a lesser degree; only one (Goldsmiths) appears in the list of the principal corporate funders of the LCM (see Table 6.9). The organisations in this study received grants from livery companies continually through the period. The BLF received five contributions from livery companies in 1866, eight in 1897, and six in 1912. Many of the livery companies gave money to the BLF in the form of an annual subscription.³⁷ The ELCF received three contributions from livery companies in 1885, five in 1902 and six in 1910. Contributions from livery companies continued to the LDDI until 1902, and to the LDHM until 1909. Overall, grants from livery companies were one of the few types of corporate funding that continued through the period. This is not surprising given that one of their functions was to dispense charity.

Two key motives can be seen to be behind these grants to religious voluntary organisations from livery companies. The first motive was their duty as trustees of the endowed charities

³⁶ Cross, 'City of London Livery Companies', pp. 56-58.

³⁷ For example, the six livery companies which made contributions to the BLF in 1912 also made contributions in 1897. No other subscription lists between these dates have survived.

under their responsibility. For example, the Skinners' Company administered several trusts in aid of poor clergy, and the Haberdashers' Company administered a trust which provided funds for the building or purchase of parsonages.³⁸ The second motive was their social responsibility as London property owners. In the report of the City of London Livery Companies' Commission (1884), the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers explained that their annual subscription of £105 (ten guineas) to the BLF was paid out of the £5,000 to £6,000 corporate funds that this livery company set aside annually for miscellaneous charitable objects and educational grants. In respect of this subscription, the Clothworkers' stated that they did not 'usually contribute to the building of churches or chapels except in their position as landlords'.³⁹ In addition, societies such as the BLF and PMWA used their personal contacts in the livery companies to solicit grants. The Mercers Company gave two donations of 50 guineas to the PMWA; Roundell Palmer, the husband of the PMWA founder, was the Master of the Mercers Company in 1876.⁴⁰ The Fishmongers Company gave £500 to the BLF in the period 1865 to 1869; George Moore, who gave money to the BLF personally and through his firm, was the Prime Warden of the Fishmongers Company in 1868 and 1869. Moore's biographer commented that the Fishmongers' Company 'bled very considerably in support of the charities with which Mr Moore was connected during his time on court'.⁴¹ This combination of roles as property owner and charitable dispenser meant that the livery companies contributions continued throughout the period.

The other great dispenser of charity in the City was the Corporation of London (or City of London Corporation). This is the body in charge of the local government of the City of

³⁸ P.H. Ditchfield, *The City Companies of London and Their Good Works: A Record of their History, Charity and Treasure* (London: J.M. Dent, 1904), p. 109 and 116.

³⁹ 1884 (C. 4073) *City of London Livery Companies' Commission, Report and appendix. Vol. II., containing (1.) the Returns of the Great Companies in Answer to the Circular of the Commissioners. (2.) Correspondence between the Great Companies and the Commission with Reference to the Returns*, p. 808.

⁴⁰ LPL Ms. 1683, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1869-72, 6 Mar 1871; LPL Ms. 1685, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1874-76, 24 Nov 1875.

⁴¹ Samuel Smiles, *George Moore, Merchant and Philanthropist* (London: Routledge, 1878), p. 213.

London; its leader is the Lord Mayor. As the basis of local government in the City, it was responsible for its municipal concerns, such as street improvements, maintenance works on the River Thames and policing.⁴² The Corporation annually gave contributions to charitable causes: the sum of £10,000 per annum was allocated for this object from its corporate funds.⁴³ In the period 1781 to 1910 it gave away £1.3 million in grants to a variety of organisations: almshouses, asylums, churches, medical dispensaries, hospitals, schools and societies. The Corporation was a great supporter of religion and through this period contributed to a great number of religious charities of all denominations; this also reflects the fact that the Lord Mayors of London were also of different denominations in this period. These societies included the Baptist Missionary Society; British and Foreign Bible Society; Church of England Temperance Society; Dr Barnardo's; Elizabeth Fry Refuge; Jews' Deaf and Dumb School; SRA; Salvation Army; and the YMCA. The Corporation of London made no grants the BLF. A vote to make a £1,000 grant to the BLF was rejected in 1865 on the grounds that the Corporation of London's lease of the Finsbury Estate was due to 'fall in' in 1867 and was to pass to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as the representative of the prebend of Finsbury. The annual revenue derived from this estate was in the region of about £60,000 to £70,000.⁴⁴ Of the societies in this study, the Corporation of London gave the largest sum to the LCM; the total of £1,500 was given to the LCM in several sums during the period 1845 to 1906. £105 was given to the ELCF in one lump sum in 1888, and £63 to the PMWA in three sums during the period 1899 to 1910.⁴⁵ Overall, the Corporation of London was a significant dispenser of charity in the City throughout the period. Unlike the livery companies though, its grants were

⁴² William Ferneley Allen, *The Corporation of London: Its Rights and Privileges* (London: W.H. Allen, 1858), pp. 70-71.

⁴³ Allen, *Corporation of London*, p. 43.

⁴⁴ *The Morning Post*, 17 November 1865, p. 3; *The Sunday Times*, 26 November 1865, p. 2; *The Times*, 17 November 1865, p. 5.

⁴⁵ John James Baddeley, *The Guildhall of the City of London* (London: Eden Fisher, fourth and revised edition, 1912), pp. 223-242. This book contains a complete list of contributions with dates.

occasional. In contrast to the CWFLR, which stopped its contributions to the BLF in 1884, because it felt that it had dispensed its religious duties as a London landowner, the religious duties of both the livery companies and the Corporation of London continued because they had a duty to dispense charitable funds on an annual basis.

4. Commercial Corporate Bodies

Taking an overview, the two business sectors that were most financially supportive of the voluntary organisations chosen for this study were banking and brewing. This connects with Rubinstein's probate analysis of the nineteenth century which found that the wealthiest men had earned their fortunes through finance or brewing.⁴⁶ In particular, he identified that brewing millionaires were mainly located in London and were predominantly Anglican and Evangelical.⁴⁷ In addition, the partners of these firms were often committee members of religious organisations. It is difficult to penetrate the motivation behind corporate philanthropy but the evidence suggests that it originated from a mixture of religious and social concern. In some instances the impulse clearly came from the religious commitment of a partner in the firm. In other instances, the philanthropic action stemmed from the firms' desire to provide for the spiritual welfare of the community in which the firm was located. Again this could stem from a specific religious commitment or more broadly from a social commitment to the community, in line with the responsibilities of a landowner to his tenants.

The philanthropy of George Moore (1806-1876) and his business are a good example of the intertwining of corporate and personal contributions. Moore's biography, *George Moore, Merchant and Philanthropist* (1879), was written by Samuel Smiles (1812-1904), the

⁴⁶ Rubinstein, *Men of Property*, p. 157.

⁴⁷ Rubinstein, *Men of Property*, pp. 87-89.

renowned author of many self-help books. Smiles exalted Moore, in particular, for his philanthropic work, saying that:

George Moore had discovered what many people never find out, that man's duty in the world is not merely to 'get on' without regard for others, or to spend his accumulated money on mere selfish gratification; but to help those who want help, to instruct those who want instruction, and to endeavour to lift them up into the higher light of civilization and Christianity. Every year he wrote the following words in his pocket-book. They became ingrained in his soul, and to a certain extent, formed his creed: 'What I spent I had: What I saved I lost: What I gave I have.'⁴⁸

Moore was a self-made man who from humble beginnings quickly made his mark in London, eventually becoming a senior partner in the firm Copestake Moore Crampton and Company.⁴⁹ The firm was a manufacturer and a wholesale trader of lace and had several warehouses in the City of London. Moore, an Evangelical, was a supporter of many religious causes and contributions appear in subscription lists in both his own name and that of his firm. His name appears in the subscription lists of the LDHM (£125) and LCM (£925). Although Moore is not listed as a subscriber to the BLF, its minute book shows that an anonymous donation of £1,000 given in 1868, to be applied to Clarendon Square, Somers Town had come from him.⁵⁰ He was an active committee member of the BLF and held drawing-room meetings at his home in aid of the LDHM. He also gave bequests to the BLF (£6,000), LDHM (£2,000) and LCM (£3,000).⁵¹ Moore's philanthropic ethos, an exemplar of Christian Stewardship in practice, was clearly articulated in his diary, in which he stated that he did not want to die a rich man. He wrote: 'The money belongs to God; let me give it back to Him.'⁵² Moore's concern also extended to religious provision for his employees. The BLF minute book records that in 1865 the Bishop of London visited Moore's firm to speak to the employees; Moore had collection

⁴⁸ Smiles, *George Moore*, p. 183.

⁴⁹ Lewis, *Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, Vol. 2, p. 787.

⁵⁰ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/02/002, BLF Executive Committee Minute Book, Vol. 2 1866-70, 27 October 1868. In connection to a £1,000 anonymous sum the minute book refers to "Account Anonymous [Mr G Moore Esq]".

⁵¹ Walsh, *Progress of the Church* (1887), p. 54 and p. 83; Smiles, *George Moore*, pp. 306-07. His estate was valued for probate purposes as: 'Effects under £500,000'.

⁵² Smiles, *George Moore*, p. 510.

boxes in aid of the BLF placed in the firm for the employees to use.⁵³ In the period 1864 to 1873, Moore's firm gave £1,005 to the BLF; he requested that this subscription be applied to the 'building a Church at Kensington or elsewhere besides the parsonage at Kentish Town'.⁵⁴ His firm also gave £61 to the LDHM; and £1,250 to the LCM. These contributions from his firm stopped a few years before his death in 1876 and were not continued by the next generation of partners.⁵⁵

Likewise, the three Gilliat brothers and their firm were funders of religious organisations. The brothers were: John Saunders Gilliat (1829-1912), Algernon Gilliat (1837-1925) and Howard Gilliat (1848-1906). John Saunders Gilliat, Conservative MP, was Governor of the Bank of England, treasurer of the Bishop of St Albans' Fund and a Governor of the Queen Anne's Bounty.⁵⁶ The brothers were involved in the committees of the BLF and LDDI during the 1860s. John and Algernon were both LDDI committee members and subscribed £5 or £10 annually to the fund. John was also a member of the BLF committee, to which he subscribed £100 annually. Howard was Honorary Treasurer to the BLF, he subscribed both to the BLF and ELCF.⁵⁷ The brothers were the sons of John Kirton Gilliat who founded the merchant banking firm J.K. Gilliat and Company. The Gilliat firm gave £1,500 to the BLF in the period 1863 to 1872. The timing of the firm's donations to the BLF coincided with the committee membership of the brothers in the 1860s; their personal contributions, however, persisted into the 1880s. These examples strongly suggest that some corporate contributions stemmed mainly from the religious commitment of the firm's partners.

⁵³ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/06, BLF Other Sub-Committee Minute Book, 11 May 1865 and 15 June 1865. See *Lectures delivered in the Establishment of Messrs Copestake, Moore, Crompton and Co. ... 1860-61* (Routledge: London, 1861). Price's Patent Candle Company (which had a factory in Vauxhall) also had a chaplain for employees.

⁵⁴ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/02/001, BLF Executive Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1863-66, 10 July 1863.

⁵⁵ His co-partner Sampson Copestake died in 1874.

⁵⁶ *The Times*, 29 May 1894, p. 12; 19 October 1901, p. 11; 23 March 1907, p. 9.

⁵⁷ LDM, January 1907, p. 20.

The second factor that can be seen to be influencing the contributions of corporate bodies was a sense of responsibility to the community in which their firm was located. The physical location of the firm was, in many cases, the key factor that led to the establishment of a philanthropic relationship with the religious organisation. This can be seen particularly in corporate contributions to the LDDI, ELCF and LCM. Virtually all of the firms that supported the ELCF were located in the East End or in the City. Examining the 'Top 20' corporate funders of the ELCF (see Table 7.12), it was supported by four firms based in the City: three City banks and a publishing firm. The breweries which supported the ELCF were all situated in the East End: the Charrington brewery was based in Mile End; the Truman brewery in Spitalfields; and Mann Crossman in Whitechapel. In the same way, many of the firms that supported the LDDI were based in nearby north and west London; the LDDI home was in Westbourne Park, Notting Hill (see Table 7.14). The gin distillers, W. and A. Gilbey, had a distillery in Camden; and the Express Milk Company had offices in Bloomsbury. An East End and City connection can also be matched in the firms that subscribed to the LCM. Analysis of the principal corporate funders of the LCM shows that it was supported by four bodies based in the City (see Table 6.9). These were a merchant bank, a textile wholesaler, a commodities trading firm and the Corporation of London. The other East End companies that supported the LCM were Trumans, Hanbury and Buxton, the brewers, and Stone and Kemp, a silk manufacturer; both of these firms were based in Spitalfields. Since the LCM's work was not confined just to the Diocese of London, the LCM also drew money from south of the river, receiving money from Price's Patent Candle Company whose factory was in Vauxhall, and from Peek Frean and Company whose biscuit factory was at Dockhead in Bermondsey.

In some cases, it can clearly be seen that the firm's concern for the locality stemmed from the religious commitment of its partners in a firm manifesting itself in a concern regarding religious provision. Foremost among these was the brewing firm of Trumans, Hanbury and Buxton; it gave £2,350 to the BLF, £200 to the LDHM, £753 to the ELCF and £7,079 to the LCM. Trumans was also a major supporter of the MCF and BGCF giving £2,410 in total. In addition, the names of different members of Buxton family appeared in the committee lists of several religious charities.⁵⁸ The Buxton family, personally, gave more modest amounts (under £100) to the BLF, LDHM, LDDI and ELCF; except for Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, third baronet who gave £1,000 to the BLF. The £1,000 contribution to the BLF in 1864 was given with the stipulation that the sum be allocated for the benefit of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green; the Trumans brewery was located in Spitalfields.⁵⁹ In particular, the religious commitment of the Buxtons can be seen in their involvement with the LCM. The Buxtons dominated the table of top supporters of the LCM (see Table 6.7): Sir Edward North Buxton, second baronet (1812-1858) gave £8,531; Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, third baronet (1837-1915) gave £5,665; and Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, fourth baronet (1865-1919) gave £14,040. This overlap of concerns can also be seen in contributions from the brewery Charrington Head and Company which gave the ELCF £1,355 and the BLF £602 through annual subscriptions; it did not give any money to the LCM. In this case, there is less evidence of subscriptions from personal sources as well. None of the Charrington partners subscribed to the BLF or had any committee involvement with the BLF. Their main area of personal involvement was with the ELCF; the Charrington brewery was situated in Mile End (Tower Hamlets) in the East End. Spencer Charrington (1818-1904) represented this area as Conservative MP between 1885 and 1904,

⁵⁸ Charles Buxton (1822-71), Liberal MP, was on the committee of the LDCBS and LDHM. He was the son of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, first Baronet. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786-1845), first baronet, was treasurer of the LCM and cousin of Robert Hanbury (1796-1884) who was also a partner of Trumans and held committee posts for the SRA, LDHM and BLF. Lewis, *Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, Vol. 1, pp. 179-180; p. 513.

⁵⁹ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/02, BLF Executive Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1863-66, 25 January 1864

and was treasurer of the ELCF.⁶⁰ Thomas Charrington (1820-1894) was also treasurer of the ELCF.⁶¹ Thomas and Spencer both subscribed to the ELCF; and Marian Charrington and Emma Charrington (two spinster sisters of Spencer) left bequests to the ELCF. The support of these two brewing families epitomises the way in which religious commitment manifested itself as a paternalistic concern for a specific locality. Jeffrey Cox in his discussion of corporate philanthropy by Lambeth firms, argues that the philanthropy was motivated in part by the local social improvement that came from church work: 'Churchgoing and social improvement were linked in their minds as two dimensions of one institution, and both fit into a general concept of civic responsibility in which churches played a key role as a wholesome and civilizing influence.'⁶²

This connection with location can also be seen in the contributions to the BLF and ELCF from City firms. These two societies specifically targeted City firms. An example of this can be seen in a sermon preached by Herbert Hensley Henson (1863-1947), then Head of the Oxford House settlement, in aid of the ELCF entitled 'The Responsibility of the City to East London'.⁶³ Thirty-seven financial institutions gave money to the BLF either in the form of a one-off donation (e.g. Baring Brothers gave £1,000 in 1863) or in the form of annual subscriptions (e.g. Barnett and Company gave £500 between 1865 and 1869). The major City banks are represented in the subscription lists to the BLF: Child and Company, Coutts and Company, Drummonds and Company, Gosling and Company, Fruhling and Goschen, Herries Farquhar and Company, Hoares and Company, and Williams Deacon and Company. In addition to this, contributions came from insurance companies (such as the Pelican Life

⁶⁰ *ELCC*, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1889, p. 12.

⁶¹ *ELCC*, Vol. 6, No. 4, December 1894, p. 14.

⁶² Cox, *English Churches*, p. 119.

⁶³ *LDM*, May 1888, pp. 10-15.

Insurance Company and the Phoenix Fire Office).⁶⁴ The contributions to the BLF from financial organisations were short-lived and had mainly ceased by the 1870s.⁶⁵ The ELCF received contributions from only seven financial institutions, of which Hoares and Company and Fruhling and Goschen were the most generous; contributions from these two organisations were also over a longer period.⁶⁶ As the BLF's support from financial institutions was confined to the first decade of the Fund, this possibly suggests that such support did not have an overtly religious basis. Instead it suggests that the support stemmed more from the fact that the BLF had a high-status launch and that these institutions either wanted to be involved, or felt the need to be involved, in such a high-profile campaign. Many of the financial institutions discharged their obligation by the giving of one large sum. For example, both Coutts and Company, and Drummond and Company gave a single donation of £500 in 1863, a response that might be interpreted primarily as publicity seeking or succumbing to a kind of corporate peer pressure.

These different attributes of the philanthropic impulse meant that some societies such as the ELCF and LCM were more successful at retaining corporate support through the period. As suggested in Chapter 4, this is potentially because of the strong identification of the work of ELCF and LCM with the East End of London. Religious organisations, such as the BLF, which did not have a connection with a particular locality, experienced a decline in corporate subscriptions during the period. In 1912, the BLF only received eight sums from corporate sources that were for sums of over £2: six of these were from livery companies.⁶⁷ After 1900, the only corporate sources of funding for the LDHM and the LDDI were the livery companies.

⁶⁴ In 1870 the BLF specifically targeted insurance companies with an appeal from the Bishop. LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/03, BLF Finance Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1863-77, 14 February 1870.

⁶⁵ The BLF subscription lists for 1884, 1897 and 1912 show no contributions from financial institutions.

⁶⁶ Hoares gave a contribution of 50 guineas in 1899. Fruhling and Goschen gave a contribution of £25 in 1905.

⁶⁷ The other two corporate supporters were the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn (a professional body for lawyers) and Allen and Hanbury (a pharmaceutical and surgical instrument manufacturer).

In contrast, the ELCF received seventeen contributions in 1910 from corporate sources; of which only six were livery companies. The other eleven firms included: two publishers, a brewery, a pharmaceutical manufacturer, a typewriter manufacturer (Remingtons), an insurance broker, a stock broker, a firm of solicitors, an estate agency, a shipping company and a railway company (the Great Eastern Railway Company).⁶⁸ The LCM also had retained a greater degree of corporate support than the BLF. In 1913/14 it received 193 sums from corporate sources, reflecting the much larger size of its collecting infrastructure. This included large sums from several metropolitan railway companies and gas companies.

An analysis of a sample range of welfare, educational and religious organisations shows that virtually all received some financial support from businesses; only the Metropolitan Female Asylum received no funds from corporate sources.⁶⁹ The National Society and the Mendicity Society both received large numbers of modest sums (in the range of five to ten guineas) from firms.⁷⁰ In contrast, neither the RSPCA nor the SPG received many corporate subscriptions or donations.⁷¹ This reinforces the argument that businesses were discharging a social obligation through their philanthropy.

5. Conclusion

Corporate funding of the BLF was only significant in the first ten-year period, falling to a volume of only 9 to 13 contributions a year after this date, the majority of which were from

⁶⁸ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/11/01, ELCF Committee Minute Book, Vol. 4, 1896-1900, 28 January 1898, 25 February 1898, 25 March 1898, 24 March 1899. The ELCF worked closely with the Great Eastern Railway Company in the late 1890s.

⁶⁹ This analysis looked at the subscription lists in the following annual reports: *First Metropolitan Female Asylum Annual Report*; *First National Society Annual Report*; *Report of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts during 1821*; *First Society for the Suppression of Mendicity Annual Report*; and the *Fifty-First RSPCA Annual Report*.

⁷⁰ In respect of business contributions, the National Society received 21 sums and the Mendicity Society received 57 sums. Both organisations received sums from the London City firms.

⁷¹ The SPG received two small sums from businesses; the RSPCA received 11 sums (again all for small amounts of one or two guineas) from businesses.

livery companies. The ELCF was slightly more successful in retaining local business support, but corporate contributions had also fallen to the level of only 13 in 1914. Corporate funding of the LDDI and LDHM was never significant; ceasing entirely to the LDDI in 1903 and LDHM in 1910. This contrasted with the more buoyant corporate funding of the LCM.⁷² This chapter has argued that there were several factors that influenced corporate giving: the faith of the business owner and their personal involvement in the religious cause; the responsibilities of the employer to the location where their firm was based; the responsibilities of the property owner to their tenants; and finally, either publicity or a type of corporate peer pressure.⁷³ These factors affected the duration of the philanthropy, with bodies, such as the CWFLR, stopping their contributions when they felt that they had discharged their duties as a landowner.

Overall, therefore, corporate giving declined within the period. A key factor in determining the longevity of a funding relationship between a religious organisation and a business was the location of the firm in relation to the charity's work. Religious organisations, such as the ELCF, found that their corporate giving persisted through the working relationship that the firm had established with firms such as the Great Eastern Railway Company. The firms that continued their philanthropic relationship over a long period were those superintended by successive generations of religiously committed partners. This, therefore, suggests that the religious commitment of businessmen was key to the consequential level of corporate contributions and that any decline in male giving would have a consequential impact on corporate giving.

⁷² Volume of LCM corporate contributions: 174 in 1859/60; 242 in 1889/90; 193 in 1913/14.

⁷³ For example, in 1879 the PMWA received a letter from a London property company. The (unnamed) company stated that the company wanted 'to do something of benefit of the people' in the area which they held property (Finsbury). LPL Ms. 1686, PMWA Committee Minute Book, 1876-79, 21 May 1879.

Chapter 7 – Philanthropy in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Ethos of Giving

1. Introduction

The historian W.K. Jordan, in *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660* (1959), argues that the motivation for philanthropic action is unknowable: ‘What really animates our action when we subscribe to a hospital fund...? This most essential datum remains deep in the recesses of our nature, immune, perhaps happily from the fumbling probing of the historian, and, certainly happily, from the too arrogantly pitched enquiry of the psychoanalyst.’¹ Jordan is correct in this assertion that we cannot penetrate the actual thoughts of the philanthropist. Nevertheless, it is still possible to initiate an informed discussion regarding the reasons for individual philanthropy in the nineteenth century. Philanthropy has been interpreted as being motivated by: the promptings of religion; emotional reasons; class obligation; social pressure; social responsibility; social climbing; humanitarianism; leisure occupation; and a concern for the stability of society. It is important to acknowledge that the individual philanthropist would have had a complex mixture of both ‘secular’ and ‘religious’ motives.

This chapter is concerned with motives for giving and the underlying theology of giving in the second half of the nineteenth century. As touched on in previous chapters, the impulse behind the philanthropic action influences the longevity of the philanthropy, with impulsive giving being more short-lived than systematic giving. Sections 2 and 3 discuss these different motivations in the context of the organisations in this study. Section 2 discusses those philanthropic motivations with a more obviously ‘secular’ basis. Section 3 will concentrate specifically on ‘religious’ motivations by examining the practice of proportional giving as an aspect of Christian stewardship. The emphasis of this section is on how stewardship

¹ Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 144.

influenced the individual philanthropist and attitudes towards giving in the mid-century. Consequently this section refers to national and international literature regarding the ethos of giving and is not restricted to London as a focus, though connections to London and the societies in this study will be made where possible.² In connection with this, Section 4 will discuss the tension between ‘giving’ money to religious causes and ‘raising’ money for religious causes through events such as the charitable bazaar. It will argue that as the century progressed a professional and mechanical system of fundraising began to supplant the ethos of giving. The effect of this was that new generations of Anglican laity were growing up uneducated in stewardship and were, therefore, more reluctant to give up their money for charitable causes. This had repercussions on the state of the Church of England’s finances. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Church had experienced the loss of different traditional streams of funding for its societies and churches: the cessation of state funding of church building; the abolition of the mechanism of royal letters privileging certain religious organisations; the abolition of the compulsory church rate; and the abandonment of pew rents as an inefficient mechanism. The progressive loss of these different forms of revenue meant that the Church of England came to the gradual realisation at the end of the nineteenth century that it was failing to educate its laity in the ethos of giving.

² There is not much evidence to suggest that home-missionary societies promoted the doctrine of stewardship in their fundraising literature, though there is evidence that connects its use to foreign-missionary societies. See, for example, Section 4 in this chapter which describes the Proportionate Giving Union (PGU) established in 1887. Also Arthur Fitzgerald Kinnaird, eleventh Lord Kinnaird (1847-1923) spoke about proportionate giving at a meeting of the CMS in 1909. He argued that if ‘business men and others’ gave a proportion of their income that it would relieve the anxieties of foreign-missionary funds. *The Times*, 15 June 1909, p. 7. Kinnaird was the treasurer of the LDHM committee member, LCM Clerkenwell branch treasurer, and a financial supporter of the BLF and the LDHM. The fact that foreign-missionary organisations were more likely to advocate proportionate giving reflects their longer history of being reliant upon voluntary donations.

2. Interpretations of Philanthropy which combine 'Secular' and 'Religious' Motives

Philanthropy as a means of social control

One of the foremost secular interpretations of philanthropy is the theory that philanthropy, in the nineteenth century, was used as a tool of social control.³ The social control thesis, which came into prominence in the late 1970s, describes processes that manipulate individual and group behaviour so that they conform to a certain set of standards. The hegemony of the elite was maintained, it is argued, through the use of philanthropy and charity which were means of the elite demonstrating their power and using it to manipulate the lower classes.⁴ A useful interpretation of individual philanthropy, that combines intentions relating to both religion and social control, comes in the form of the substantial legacy to the LDHM from Maria Mary Fussell. *The Times* reported that: 'It was the sight of a street fight while she was passing in her carriage which stirred her to consider what she could do to remedy the vice and crime of London, and introduce a more Christian Spirit.'⁵ This idea of Christianity being a civilising force was undoubtedly the reason that many gave money to Church societies. Religious organisations often marketed themselves as such civilising agents. Bishop Tait when launching the BLF directly referenced the civilising force of the Fund's work: 'Consider what our Metropolis is – ...the certainty that, as evil breeds evil wherever men do congregate, such a mass of population must demoralise the country, and disorder our whole social system, unless it be leavened by a civilizing Christian influence.'⁶ The influential pamphlet *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, published in 1883 by the Congregationalist Minister Andrew Mearns (1837-1925) expounded the criminality, immorality and desperate conditions of the London

³ F.K. Prochaska, 'Philanthropy', in F.M.L. Thompson, *Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, Vol. 3: Social Agencies and Institutions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 359; Gill, *Women and the Church of England*, p. 131; Cox, *English Churches*, p. 89.

⁴ Martin Gorsky has argued that instead voluntary organisations should be thought of, not as agents of social control, but as agents of social cooperation, with the middle-class aiming not to control but to share their values through such groups as mothers meetings. See Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy*, p. 9.

⁵ *The Times*, 19 January 1904, p. 5.

⁶ Tait, *The Spiritual Wants of the Metropolis*.

rookeries.⁷ The ELCF was quick to capitalise on the great reaction awakened by the publication of this pamphlet by writing letters to the newspapers publicising the work that it was already doing to alleviate the ‘temporal as well as spiritual’ afflictions of the destitute in these very parts of London.⁸ Likewise, the PMWA stressed the great practical and moral influence that their parochial mission women were able to have over the poor with whom they resided, through schemes such as the penny bank and mothers’ meetings.⁹ This work was described in the *Sunday Times* as ‘civilising lay work’.¹⁰ Jeffrey Cox also suggests that the ‘civilizing mission’ of church work may have been the reason that commercial businesses, such as the Doulton china works in Lambeth, supported the Church. He argues that such companies had a vested interest in creating ‘a sober and industrious nation’.¹¹ Religious voluntary organisations, therefore, promoted themselves as civilising forces that could bring about social order and alleviate both temporal and spiritual destitution.

Philanthropy as a class obligation

The motive of class guilt is not thought to have been a major factor behind philanthropy in the nineteenth century. Prochaska argues that middle-class guilt is actually ‘a feature of our more egalitarian age’ and did not make sense in an age in which the social hierarchy was an accepted feature of society.¹² This view is reinforced by David Owen, who writes that the middle- and upper-classes accepted “‘the poor” as a given and permanent element in the social structure’.¹³ Middle-class and upper-class culture was a culture of obligation and civic duty; their position in society entailed certain responsibilities and duties. Owen reinforces this point:

⁷ Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, p. 28.

⁸ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/11/01, ELCF Committee Minute Book, Vol. 1 1880-85, 26 October 1883. See *Daily News*, 2 November 1883, p. 3.

⁹ *Official Yearbook of the Church of England*, 1883, pp. 70-71; Burdett-Coutts, *Woman’s Mission*, p. 411.

¹⁰ *Sunday Times*, 31 January 1869, p. 2.

¹¹ Cox, *English Churches*, p. 112 and p. 119.

¹² Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p. 47. See also R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 178.

¹³ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 4.

‘Some recognition of the obligation at least to subscribe to charity, from whatever motives, was so widespread among the upper and upper-middle classes that philanthropy became a social imperative, a convention by those who were, or wished to be, anybody.’¹⁴ The multi-millionaire Scottish industrialist Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), for example outlined what he felt were the duties of a wealthy man. He was ‘to consider all surplus revenues which came to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner in which, in his judgement, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community’.¹⁵ Even though Carnegie had only ‘a lukewarm interest in organized religion’, he still included the church in his list of philanthropic priorities, albeit in seventh and last place.¹⁶ This sense of class obligation is inherent in the fundraising literature for the organisations chosen for this study.¹⁷ In particular, organisations such as the LDCBS, BLF and ELCF stressed the obligations that the landowners and employers of the metropolis had for the spiritual welfare of the wider population.¹⁸ This sense of social responsibility can be seen in the contributions made by corporate bodies, such the CWFLR and the East End breweries.¹⁹

Philanthropy as means of gaining peer approval

Another widely articulated secular interpretation of philanthropy is that philanthropic acts were motivated by personally self-serving motives. These are those acts that claim to be charitable but where in fact the philanthropist seeks to gain in some tangible way from the charitable action. The economist B. Douglas Bernheim highlights this point in his theory of

¹⁴ Owen, *English Philanthropy*, p. 165.

¹⁵ Andrew Carnegie, ‘Wealth’, *The North American Review*, Vol. 148, No. 391 (June 1889), pp. 661-62; Andrew Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth* (London, 1890).

¹⁶ Geoffrey Tweedale, ‘Carnegie, Andrew (1835–1919)’, *ODNB*. Carnegie’s top priority was the establishment of libraries.

¹⁷ Tait, *Charge 1862*, pp. 66-67.

¹⁸ Blomfield, *A Memoir of C.J. Blomfield*, Vol. 1, p. 237; Tait, *From the Bishop of London to the Laity of the Diocese*; *The Times*, 30 April 1863, p. 14; *First BLF Annual Report*, p. 12.

¹⁹ See Chapter 6.

conformity, which discusses the human need to be accepted, to be popular, and to be highly regarded.²⁰ Applying this theory of conformity to philanthropy, attachment to and involvement with, a religious voluntary organisation gave the individual a public profile and consequently social approval. The Reverend Charles Edward Ricketts Robinson (died 1881), Perpetual Curate of Holy Trinity Church, Milton-near-Gravesend in Kent, reported that some individuals would give greater amounts if their contributions were publicly acknowledged. Robinson recounted a conversation with one such philanthropist: 'A very good fellow most kindly disposed to help me with my charities, said to me when the cotton famine was pressing, "Well, if you have a collection in Church I shall give probably 1s., whereas, if you have a subscription list, of course I shall give a guinea."'”²¹ This outlook is also typified by this comment, in 1896, from George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) who said that 'a millionaire does not really care whether his money does good or not, provided he finds his conscience eased and his social status improved by giving it away'.²² This view is repeated by historians, such as Olive Checkland, who argue that it was social acceptance that mattered more to these passive philanthropists than alleviating society's problems.²³ Samuel Smiles criticised people who gave money to charity in order to be seen as giving to charity. He said: 'The Bishop of London's Fund had become a very fashionable thing, and many persons gave money because it was the fashion; but there their work ended.'²⁴ This could also be the reason that many of the prominent City financial institutions gave to the higher profile Anglican societies. These observations suggest that individuals and corporations were aware that their philanthropic activities (or absence from philanthropic activities) would be publicly observed and judged,

²⁰ B. Douglas Bernheim, 'A Theory of Conformity', *Journal of Political Economy*, 102:5 (October 1994), p. 842-44.

²¹ C.E.R. Robinson, *Almsgiving and the Offertory* (Gravesend: Godfrey John Baynes, 1866), p. 11.

²² Shaw quoted in William T. Harbaugh, 'What do donations Buy? A model of philanthropy based on prestige and warm glow', *Journal of Public Economics*, 67 (1998), p. 271.

²³ Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, p. 30.

²⁴ Smiles, *George Moore*, p. 312.

and that the motivation for giving was not necessarily entirely religious, but instead reflected a desire to be publicly involved in a high status organisation such as the BLF.

Philanthropy as an occupation

Prochaska and Luddy have both written at length on the opportunities that philanthropy offered to women, particularly in the latter half of the nineteenth century when it became more acceptable for women to participate in philanthropic activities.²⁵ Women could become involved either by donating their leisure time or their money to philanthropic causes. Philanthropy was an obvious mental and physical outlet for upper-class and middle-class women who otherwise had little release outside the family home. Philanthropy offered women an opportunity to gain both new skills and a new identity. Prochaska says that 'charitable work, free from chaperons and prying relatives, represented deliverance from the stitch-stitch-church-stitch routine of female existence'.²⁶ He suggests that philanthropy played a prominent role in the emancipation of women in the nineteenth century, offering as it did an acceptable social role. This interpretation of philanthropy is mainly concerned with the physical occupation of philanthropy rather than the funding of it. However, as has been shown in the analysis of the funding of the LDDI and PMWA, for many women the giving of their time and their money was inextricably intertwined.

Summary

This section had acknowledged that not all of the impulses behind philanthropy are wholly religious in basis. Cox, commenting on the late nineteenth century philanthropist in Lambeth, says that 'Their motives were mixed, and it is important to avoid the claim that all of this

²⁵ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*; Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy*. See also Gill, *Women and the Church of England*, p. 84 and p. 134.

²⁶ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 11.

activity was not “really religious”. Like all religion, it was religious and something else as well.²⁷ Under the more ‘secular’ interpretations of philanthropy, the philanthropist gave money for a range of very human reasons: in order to create a safe and stable society; to fulfil their responsibilities to society; reasons related to self promotion; for self fulfilment; and for humanitarian and compassionate reasons. However, despite the psychological coercion of peer pressure and obligation, it is important to stress the strong underlying element of religious motivation behind the actions of the Victorian philanthropist. Maria Fussell, in giving her fortune to the Church of England in order to reduce crime in London, was communicating the view that the work of the Church had both a religious and social function. It is the motivational basis of the philanthropy that is a key determinant in indicating the robustness of the philanthropic relationship. Philanthropy given in response to peer pressure or as an emotional response is more short-lived in nature. Philanthropy given in response to a sense of social obligation is likely to stop when the individual feels that the responsibility has been discharged, or if a new generation feels that a certain cause is no longer their responsibility. And finally, philanthropy as an occupation is likely to be given up when other opportunities are presented. In contrast, philanthropy given from an embedded religious basis, carried out systematically as part of day-to-day life, has the potential to be much longer lasting. The next section will concentrate on the explicitly religious motivations for philanthropy through an examination of the mid-century promotion of the doctrine of stewardship.

3. The Church of England and its promotion of Philanthropy

Philanthropy and Religious Motivations

Philanthropic motives with a spiritual basis are essentially those based on the individual’s sense of relationship with God. For example, Smiles praised the businessman George Moore

²⁷ Cox, *English Churches*, p. 88.

as an exemplar of Christian philanthropy. He said that Moore ‘believed, however, that mere money, unless it was given for the love of Jesus, would be as filthy rags in the sight of God. He looked to the heart, not to the action.’²⁸ It is this interaction between the use of money and man’s personal relationship with God that is crucial to understanding philanthropy in the mid-nineteenth century. Christian stewardship and its promotion of proportionate giving was a widely discussed doctrine in this period. This is the doctrine that God is the absolute owner of all property in the world, and that man simply acts as God’s manager or steward.²⁹ As a steward, man must use the resources wisely for the benefit of all (as God would wish his resources to be used), and not solely for a man’s own pleasure. The doctrine holds that man’s stewardship would be judged under these criteria and that each man would be rewarded or punished in accordance to his performance. An important part of this stewardship was that the money should be given while living and not as a legacy.³⁰ The doctrine of stewardship, consequently, outlined how man should behave in relation to his ownership of money in his lifetime.

In the eighteenth century this doctrine became widely influential amongst Moravians and Methodists. John Wesley’s ethos, for example, was ‘gain all you can, save all you can, give all you can’.³¹ Harvey Reeves Calkins’ review of the biblical teachings in respect of *A Man and His Money* (1914) argues that ‘industry and frugality’ which characterise the Protestant work ethic were ‘the offspring’ of the ideal of stewardship.³² A ‘Renaissance’ in the promotion of

²⁸ Smiles, *George Moore*, pp. 311-12.

²⁹ There is very little secondary literature on this subject. See Garnett, ‘Aspects of the Relationship’ on the mid nineteenth century; Garnett, ‘Gold and the Gospel’; Johnston, *Stewardship and the Gospel*; Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, pp. 100-14.

³⁰ Henry Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth: or, Studies in Tithe-giving, Ancient and Modern*, 2 vols. (London: SPCK, 1906), Vol. 2, pp. 416-18; STG, *Society of the Treasury of God: A monthly paper* (Toronto: 1885), p. 11.

³¹ See John Wesley’s sermons ‘The Use of Money’ and ‘The Good Steward’ in John Wesley, *Sermons on Several Occasions*, 2 vols. (New York: Carlton and Phillips, 1855), Vol. 1, pp. 440-56

³² Calkins, *A Man and His Money*, pp. 78-81; John Walsh, ‘Wesley and the Poor’, *Revue Francaise de Civilisation Britannique*, 6:3 (1991), pp. 17-30.

stewardship occurred in the mid-nineteenth century fuelled by the publication of many essays and books and by the establishment of the Systematic Benevolence Society (SBS) in America (1856) and Britain (1860). The aim of this society was to ‘promote the principles and practice of systematic giving to God for pious and charitable uses’ and to address ‘the glaring disproportion between the well-ascertained income of the professing Christians of this country and the amount of their contributions to all religious and charitable purposes’.³³ The SBS outlined three principles of stewardship: as a steward man is accountable to God; that the tithe of a tenth be ‘the general standard’ for giving; and that this tenth should be at first set aside (before meeting other obligations) and should ‘be offered in worship as first-fruits to God’.³⁴ This society and its literature crystallised a new form of systematised stewardship which advocated systematic and proportional giving.³⁵ Boyd Hilton argues that this approach would have been an anathema to earlier generations: ‘Such views would have scandalized moralists in the earlier nineteenth century, when the application of any precise “measure of Christian liberality” was thought to undermine the spontaneity – and anxiety – with which performance of good works needed to be accompanied if it was to go down as a mark of spiritual grace.’³⁶ John Wesley, for example, had been haphazard and spontaneous in his distribution of charity.³⁷ Hilton argues that this move, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, to systematised giving was a natural consequence of the shift in the Christian emphasis from piety to the championing of good works. However, Hilton’s interpretation of the SBS does not reflect the society’s insistence that: ‘Liberality should be done out of a pure heart which remembers its stewardship, and under the felt scrutiny of an Eye that is omniscient and

³³ *The Times*, 7 May 1861, p. 4; Robert G. Cather, *The Origin and Objects of the Systematic Benevolence Society* (London, 1862), p. 29.

³⁴ *The Benefactor*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2 November 1863, p. 11.

³⁵ The role of the SBS was to influence the ethic of giving. It was not concerned about the mechanism that the individual chose to give through (i.e. the offertory).

³⁶ Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, pp. 104-05.

³⁷ Walsh, ‘Wesley and the Poor’, p. 26.

divine.’³⁸ The SBS examined three aspects of stewardship: ‘the *measure* of giving, the *method* of giving, and the *motives* of giving’.³⁹ And it is this exactitude in measure, method and motive that was promoted by the society. In 1863, emphasising the Christian basis of charity, *The Benefactor*, the quarterly magazine of the British SBS, denounced the many self-serving motives for philanthropy that sullied its very nature. It argued that ‘If the motives are impure or unworthy, the offering will be valueless, and the deed itself will have in it the nature of sin.’ These debased motives were: giving to charity in order to gain credit from God (and therefore to gain worldly benefits, such as, health and prosperity); giving to charity falsely to establish yourself as a wealthy man (thereby enabling you to extend your material credit); and giving to charity because of peer pressure (either because of fear of censure, or self-promotion).⁴⁰

The SBS traced the impetus for the start of this stewardship campaign to the response to the Irish potato famine of the late 1840s and early 1850s.⁴¹ The famine prompted debates regarding ‘the principles of benevolence, of the relationship between State and private contributions’.⁴² The SBS claimed that when the new principles were tried in Ireland, ‘the amount of their contributions were on the average increased fivefold in amount and tenfold in cheerfulness’.⁴³ This experiment in Ireland prompted a flowering of literature on stewardship in the 1850s with several international essay competitions on the subject in America, Scotland and Northern Ireland.⁴⁴ In 1850, the American Tract Society published four prize-winning essays on the importance of systematic beneficence. This was followed by the Ulster prize in 1853, sponsored by the Evangelical Alliance, which resulted in the publication of a

³⁸ *The Benefactor*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2 November 1863, p. 6.

³⁹ *The Benefactor*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2 November 1863, p. 2.

⁴⁰ *The Benefactor*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2 November 1863, p. 6.

⁴¹ Cather, *Origin and Objects of the SBS*, p. 27.

⁴² Garnett, ‘Gold and the Gospel’, p. 348.

⁴³ Cather, *Origin and Objects of the SBS*, p. 27.

⁴⁴ See Garnett, ‘Gold and the Gospel’; Calkins, *A Man and His Money*, p. 110-12.

compendium of essays titled *Gold and the Gospel: Prize Essays on the Scriptural Duty of Giving in Proportion to Means and Income*.⁴⁵ The Glasgow prize published its prize-winning essay in 1857.⁴⁶ Each of these essay prizes was open to evangelicals of all denominations. These prizes were complemented by the publication of several essays and pamphlets. One of the most circulated was *The Duty of Giving Away a Stated Proportion of our Income* (1855) by William Arthur (1819-1901) a Wesleyan Methodist Missionary and Honorary Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance.⁴⁷ These essays were widely read through out America and Britain and led to the founding of the SBS in both countries.⁴⁸ In 1856, the American SBS was founded following a lecture there by William Arthur. The British version was founded in London and Belfast in 1860.⁴⁹

The SBS was interdenominational in constitution, though slightly more balanced in favour of Nonconformists. The British SBS President was George William Frederick Howard (1802-1864), seventh Earl of Carlisle, an Anglican broad churchman with ‘an inclination to evangelicalism’; Howard was a financial supporter of the PMWA.⁵⁰ Reflecting its interdenominational constitution, speakers at meetings included prominent Nonconformists such as Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834–1892), Baptist minister; Robert Smith Candlish (1806–1873), Free Church of Scotland minister; Thomas Binney (1798-1874), Congregational Minister; and William Arthur.⁵¹ Other speakers on the society’s behalf included the Evangelical Anglican, Anthony Ashley-Cooper, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury a supporter of the BLF and committee member of the MCF, ACS, CPAS, SRA, LDHM and BLF; Sir Culling

⁴⁵ Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, p. 104.

⁴⁶ James Aitken Wylie, *The Gospel Ministry: Duty and Privilege of Supporting it* (London: James Nisbet, 1857).

⁴⁷ William Arthur, *Duty of Giving Away a Stated Proportion of our Income: An Address etc* (1855, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1857).

⁴⁸ Calkins, *A Man and His Money*, p. 112 and pp. 117-18. Arthur’s essay was quoted in an article in the *Christian Observer*, April 1862, No. 292, p. 272.

⁴⁹ Cather, *Origin and Objects of the SBS*, pp. 28-29.

⁵⁰ Ian Machin, ‘Howard, George William Frederick, seventh earl of Carlisle (1802–1864)’, *ODNB*.

⁵¹ *The Times*, 7 May 1861, p. 4.

Eardley Eardley (formerly Smith: 1805-1863), Liberal MP, a Congregationalist (though originally an Anglican) ‘a lay leader of interdenominational and international evangelicalism’ and had been involved in the issue of *Gold and the Gospel*,⁵² and the Evangelical Anglican Robert Culling Hanbury (1823-1867), Liberal MP and partner in the brewing firm of Truman Hanbury and Buxton. Hanbury was a financial supporter of the BLF and LDHM and a committee member of the SRA, BLF, LDHM and LCM.⁵³ A regular meeting of the SBS was held each year as part of the annual May meetings at Exeter Hall in London.⁵⁴ Members of the committee, in the early 1870s included several prominent Anglican Evangelicals: Francis Close (1797-1882), Dean of Carlisle; Robert Bickersteth (1816-1884), Bishop of Ripon; Edward Meyrick Goulburn (1818-1897), Dean of Norwich (who financially supported the BLF and LDDI and was an LDDI committee member); Robert Payne Smith (1818-1895), Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford; Drummond Percy Chase (1820-1902), Reverend Principal of St Mary Hall, Oxford; and William Weldon Champneys (1807-1875), Dean of Lichfield (who had previously had a long clerical career in London, and was a committee member of the LDHM, BLF and SRA).⁵⁵ In 1862 the SBS reported on a successful campaign in London in the preceding year which involved sermons and ‘several nobly influential public meetings’.⁵⁶ As well as holding meeting and services, the society distributed literature. For example, in England, it gave out 5,000 copies of *Gold and the Gospel*.⁵⁷ The work of the SBS was publicised in various evangelical religious newspapers: *The Record*, *Watchman*, *Patriot*,

⁵² Garnett, ‘Aspects of the relationship’, p. 207.

⁵³ *The Times*, 25 April 1864, p. 14; 22 April 1865, p. 12; and 19 April 1866, p. 7; Cather, *The Origin and Objects of the SBS*, p. 26. In May 1866 Hanbury chaired the SBS May meeting. Hanbury adopted the name Culling when he married the daughter of Sir Culling Eardley Eardley. See Anonymous, *Robert Culling Hanbury: A Sketch of His Life and Work* (London: George Hunt, 1867), pp. 9, 102, 103 and 117.

⁵⁴ *The Times*, 25 Apr 1864, p. 14; 22 April 1865, p. 12; 19 April 1866, p. 7.

⁵⁵ Garnett, ‘Aspects of the relationship’, p. 209; Anglican and International Christian Moral Science Association, *Science and the Gospel; or the Church and the Nations* (London: Macmillan, 1870), p. 593.

⁵⁶ Cather, *Origin and Objects of the SBS*, p. 43.

⁵⁷ See also Anon, *Systematic Giving* (London: Nisbet, 1864). By 1864, 100,000 copies of Arthur’s essay had been published.

*Freeman, Nonconformist, London Quarterly Review, Christian Observer and Wesleyan Times.*⁵⁸

The creation of the SBS in 1860 is symptomatic of the thinking at that time in evangelical circles that individuals should be more systematic in their attitude to giving money to charity. Many prominent Anglican Evangelicals were involved in the work of the society which had its offices in Old Jewry in the City of London.⁵⁹ Its May meetings were held at the prominent evangelical venue of Exeter Hall in London, and were publicised and reported upon in London newspapers such as *The Times*, *The Illustrated London News*, *Daily News*, and *The Standard*. In addition, a wide body of evangelical literature was published to promote systematised giving between 1850 to the early 1870s, of which the Anglican leaflet *What is Mine, and What is God's* (1859) was circulated to every clergyman in England and Wales. This had been written by an anonymous Church of England clergyman and had a run of four editions between 1859 and 1872.⁶⁰ Writing just two years after its creation, the *Christian Observer* commented on the success of the SBS: 'The seed thus liberally sown has at length grown up into a veritable tree, which seems already to have struck its roots pretty firmly into the soil of almost every orthodox church.'⁶¹ It is therefore reasonable to argue that the philanthropy of some Anglicans was positively influenced by this movement. At the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, when a new body of Anglicans were trying to revive the practice of stewardship as an answer to the Church of England's financial problems,

⁵⁸ Garnett, 'Aspects of the Relationship', p. 210.

⁵⁹ Anglican and International Christian Moral Science Association, *Science and the Gospel*, p. 593

⁶⁰ Anon, *What is mine? What is God's by a Clergyman of the Church of England* (London, 1859). The anonymous author of this item is identified in the National Library of Scotland catalogue as George Pope (died 1893), Professor of Maths at the Royal Military College in Sandhurst, and later Rector of Rempstone, Nottinghamshire. This authorship is attributed on the basis of manuscript notes and shared binding with other works by Pope.

⁶¹ Anon, *Systematic Giving*, p. 8.

they personally related their own experience of the work of the SBS to their attitudes to philanthropy.⁶²

The High Church and Tithing

In 1866 the High Church *Church Magazine*, which approved of the promotion of regular giving, argued that the need for the SBS demonstrated that the Church had failed in its task of teaching the Anglican laity the principles of giving. It said: 'If her ministers had obeyed her clear directions, and demanded a weekly offertory from their people, they would not now find it necessary to enforce the duty of systematic almsgiving.'⁶³ This was a common criticism within the Church of England at the end of the nineteenth century. This statement in the *Church Magazine* suggests both that the Church's need for money was not being met and the High Church view that the weekly offertory was the means to implement this regular giving. Jane Garnett suggests that the evangelical suspicion of the offertory, because of its association with Roman Catholicism, 'did much to delay the emergence of regularity in setting money aside'.⁶⁴ By way of example of this evangelical suspicion, a storm of controversy erupted at the end of 1844 when the curate of Hurst parish church, in Berkshire, tried to introduce a weekly offertory for charitable objects. *The Times* campaigned against the practice of weekly collections, running several articles during the months of November, December 1844 and January 1845.⁶⁵

⁶² STG (an Anglican society established in 1886) members, Henry Lansdell and Charles Pocock (1829-1899), both credited the book *Gold and the Gospel* and the work of the SBS in the 1850s and 1860s for awakening their interest in stewardship and systematic giving. LHAC, Ms. A/69/18/6/5a, Charles A.B. Pocock, *Why Give? Or a Public Confession, as to the Right Motives for Proportionate Giving* (London: Charles Cull and Son, 1899?), p. 5; Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, p. 605.

⁶³ *Church Magazine*, 1866, Vol. 1, pp. 1-4.

⁶⁴ Garnett, 'Gold and the Gospel', p. 352.

⁶⁵ *The Times*, 12 November 1844, p. 3; 15 November 1844, p. 5; 18 November 1844, p. 5; 25 November 1844, p. 5; 7 December 1844, p. 5; 13 December 1844, p. 5; 2 January 1845, p. 6; 6 January 1845, p. 5. See also Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols. (1966, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1970 edition), Vol. 1, pp. 216-17 and p. 329.

In the 1860s the use of the offertory became more acceptable, however, particularly to Evangelicals, and was used as an example of how to systematise giving. The *Christian Observer*, in an article about the SBS, advocated the use of the weekly offering citing its successful use by Nonconformists and the High Church. The article stated that ‘an absurd prejudice has been excited against it, as if something dangerous must lie concealed under its very simple and practical exterior’.⁶⁶ The impulse behind this acceptance may have been partly because of the work of the SBS and partly the Church’s need for regular funds to finance the religious provision for the growing population. By the end of the nineteenth century, with the abolition of church rates and the abandonment of pew rents, the practice of weekly collections had become generally accepted.⁶⁷ In the 1860s, several pamphlets were published which advocated the use of the offertory, including *The Offertory: the most excellent way of contributing money for Christian Purposes* (1862) by James Heywood Markland (1788-1864), High Churchman, solicitor of the MCF and ACS committee member; and *An Inquiry into the Principles of Church Finance* (1865) by James Hamilton, senior curate of Chipping Campden. Hamilton commented that ‘in this age of advanced revival’, the Church was being confined in its work by a ‘vulgar want of money’.⁶⁸ He argued that a new and regular source of income was needed that would ‘enable the Bishop of London to achieve the noble objects of his fund’.⁶⁹ John Sandford (1801-73), in his 1861 Bampton Lecture, also advocated the use of the offertory which would train people in the act of giving regularly to God: ‘But the Church, by means of her Offertory, stately enforces them. She reminds her worshippers that they are only “stewards of the manifold grace of God,” – that all things come

⁶⁶ *Christian Observer*, April 1862, No. 292, p. 277.

⁶⁷ Discussed further in Chapter 8. Johnston *Stewardship and the Gospel*, p. 32; J.N. Morris, *Religion and Urban Change: Croydon, 1840-1914* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), p. 55; Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 155-63.

⁶⁸ James Heywood Markland, *The Offertory: The Most Excellent Way of Contributing Money for Christian Purpose* (Oxford: Parker, 1862); James Hamilton, *Prize Essay: An Inquiry into the Principles of Church Finance* (1865), p. 7 and p. 19.

⁶⁹ Hamilton, *Inquiry into the Principles of Church Finance*, p. 22 and p. 29.

to Him,” and must be rendered to Him again.’⁷⁰ Sandford referred to recent literature in support of the offertory, citing Markland’s leaflet and the recent charge of the Bishop of Lincoln.⁷¹ The Bishop of Lincoln in question was the Evangelical John Jackson who transferred to the Bishopric of London in 1869.⁷² Jackson said that the offertory was ‘a wholesome, a liturgical, and a scriptural method of almsgiving, in which rich and poor are encouraged to unite in the fulfilment of plain duty’.⁷³

The evangelical SBS received recognition and support from High Churchmen such as William Ewart Gladstone. In 1869, when he was Prime Minister, Gladstone expressed his support of the SBS in a letter saying: ‘I cordially approve of the principle involved in a combination, in which person binds himself simply to this, to devote to the purpose of alms, that is, as I understand it, of religion and beneficence, a minimum proportion of his income.’⁷⁴ Gladstone was a committee member for the MCF, BLF, ACS and CPAS, and contributed to the BLF, ELCF and PMWA. He systematically set aside at least a tenth of his income at the start of each year and kept detailed notes of his acts of charity. Henry Lansdell estimates that Gladstone gave away £114,000 during his lifetime. Gladstone held the view that the offertory, associated with High Church practices, was a suitable channel for regularly giving money.⁷⁵ The 1860s therefore saw both High Church support of the SBS’s work and evangelical support of the offertory as suitable mechanisms for carrying out proportionate giving.

⁷⁰ John Sandford, *The Mission and Extension of the Church at Home considered in Eight Lectures Preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1861 at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. John Bampton* (London: Longman, 1862), p. 102. Sandford was Rector of Alvechurch in Worcestershire.

⁷¹ Sandford, *Mission and Extension*, pp. 254-55; John Jackson, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln, in October, 1861* (London, 1861).

⁷² Lewis, *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, Vol. 1, p. 598.

⁷³ Quoted in Sandford, *Mission and Extension*, pp. 254-55.

⁷⁴ *The Lancaster Gazette*, 30 January 1869, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, p. 398 and p. 481.

Stewardship and Home-missionary Fundraising

The key concepts of Christian stewardship and systematic beneficence were also advocated during the 1860s in connection with home-missionary fundraising. Sandford's 1861 Bampton Lectures were on the subject of 'Home Mission', and the fourth lecture was specifically on the topic of the method of funding home-missionary work. He commented that 'in days in which the responsibilities of wealth and the Christian duty of almsgiving are becoming better understood, it may be hoped that the appeal of religion will not be made in vain' and then went on to elucidate the main principles of Christian stewardship and systematic giving.⁷⁶ In addition, both Samuel Waldegrave (1817-1869) the Evangelical Bishop of Carlisle, and Robert Bickersteth (1816-1884), the Evangelical Bishop of Ripon, appealed for systematic forms of giving in their 1861 charges. Bickersteth was an SBS committee member.⁷⁷ The Reverend Thomas Williamson Peile (1806-1882) preached a sermon specifically on the topic of stewardship at his own church of St Paul, South Hampstead (a newly created district). The sermon, preached in 1864 in aid of the BLF, was entitled *Give God His Tenth*.⁷⁸ He preached that man should 'give on system' and not wait for 'the "great occasion" that shall inflame his zeal'.⁷⁹ The Reverend Edward Lewis Cutts, Secretary of the High Church Additional Curates Society (ACS), used the concept of judgement of man's stewardship emotively and persuasively in an appeal for funds on its behalf in 1861.⁸⁰ The ACS also discussed the work of the SBS in its annual meeting of 1862.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Sandford, *Mission and Extension*, p. 99 and p. 101.

⁷⁷ Anon, *Systematic Giving*, p. 3 and p. 15.

⁷⁸ J. H. Lupton, 'Peile, Thomas Williamson (1806-1882)', rev. M. C. Curthoys, *ODNB*. Peile had previously been Headmaster of Repton School in Derbyshire (1841 to 1854), and Vicar of Luton (1857 to 1860).

⁷⁹ Thomas Williamson Peile, *Give God His Tenth: The Way to Lay by in Store for Ends at this time Specially Sought through the Bishop of London's Fund: A Sermon [on 1 Cor xvi 2], etc* (London, 1864), p. 17.

⁸⁰ Edward L. Cutts, *Home Missions and Church Extension* (London: Rivingtons, 1861), p. 15.

⁸¹ *John Bull*, 3 May 1862, p. 289.

In addition to the examples of George Moore and William Ewart Gladstone already cited, other prominent supporters of the home-missionary societies in this study also referred to stewardship and tithing as the reason underlying their philanthropy. William Walsham How, a Broad Churchman who as Suffragan Bishop was responsible for spiritual care of the East End of London, systematically set aside at least 10 per cent of his income. He increased the amount to 20 per cent when he became Bishop of Wakefield in 1888.⁸² How wrote a poem entitled 'Our Trusteeship' about stewardship:

We give Thee but Thine own
 Whate'er the gift may be;
 All that we have is Thine alone-
 A trust, O Lord, from Thee.

May we Thy bounties thus
 As stewards true receive;
 And gladly as Thou blessest us
 To Thee our firstfruits give.⁸³

Both Richard Foster and Lord Overstone kept detailed account books listing their charitable donations.⁸⁴ Foster, a merchant banker and High Churchman, gave away an estimated £380,000 during his lifetime. His obituary said that 'He looked on himself as but the steward of wealth entrusted to him, feeling strongly that at least a tithe of every man's income should be set aside for the good of others.'⁸⁵ In 1872, Foster set aside the sum of £100,000; he felt obligated to give away much of the money that he had just inherited from his thrifty and uncharitable uncle.⁸⁶ Lord Overstone inscribed his charitable account books with biblical quotations relating to stewardship on the flyleaves. One quotation read: 'It requires an

⁸² Frederick Douglas How, *Bishop Walsham How: A Memoir* (London: Isbister and Company, 1898), p. 86 and p. 319; J. H. Overton, 'How, William Walsham (1823-1897)', rev. M. C. Curthoys, *ODNB*.

⁸³ This was published in *The Lord's Portion*, No. 55, January 1915, p. 26; and in Alfred H. Miles (ed.), *Sacred Poets of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1907), p. 56.

⁸⁴ SHSC, Loyd Papers, Ms. 804/2167(1) and 804/2169: Samuel Jones-Loyd's (First Baron Overstone) charitable account books; Foster, *Richard Foster*, p. 33.

⁸⁵ LMA Ms. P94/MTS/185, *The Late Mr Richard Foster: Special Memoir*, typed manuscript (1911?). See also *ELCC*, Vol. 23, No. 1, Easter 1911, p. 2.

⁸⁶ Foster, *Richard Foster*, pp. 74-76.

unusually clear, steady, noble faith to be surrounded with wordly goods; yet to be self denying; to consider ourselves but stewards of God's bounty, and to be faithful on all things "committed" to us. (Newman sermon); and another 'Freely ye have received, freely give (Matt X 8).'⁸⁷ Taking 1869 as an example year from Overstone's notebook, he gave away money to a very wide range of religious objects: the BLF, ACS, SRA, SPG, a Wesleyan Chapel, and the Primitive Methodists.⁸⁸ One of the notebooks itemises Overstone's income and expenditure for the year 1869: from an income of £99,000 he spent £41,880 of which £9,573 was charitable donations.⁸⁹ Francis Alexander Hamilton was also a systematic giver. His biography says that he 'was a giver from principle and not from impulse, and regularly set aside each year a goodly portion of his income for works of benevolence and charity'.⁹⁰

Henry Lansdell in his book *The Sacred Tenth* (1906) listed many exemplars of good stewardship. Many of these individuals supported the societies in this study. Such individuals included Alfred Peache (1818-1900) Vicar of Downend, Bristol, and his sister Miss Kezia Peache (1820-1899), both Evangelicals. Alfred Peache was a LDHM committee member, and they both subscribed to the BLF. Lansdell says that when Alfred's father died, Alfred consulted with his friends on how he could best fulfil his stewardship.⁹¹ Other examples that Lansdell cites include the Evangelical banker Robert Cooper Lee Bevan (1809-1890), one of the top funders for the LCM. The LCM's obituary of Bevan said: 'Inheriting a princely fortune and high position in our commercial circles, from the date of his conversion he appears to have fully realised his stewardship for Christ and his fellow-men.'⁹² Another example is the Evangelical glove manufacturer, John Derby Allcroft (1822-1893), who was a subscriber to

⁸⁷ SHSC, Loyd Papers, Ms. 804/2169.

⁸⁸ SHSC, Loyd Papers, Ms. 804/2169.

⁸⁹ SHSC, Loyd Papers, Ms. 804/2166.

⁹⁰ Brown, *A hundred years of merchant banking*, p. 343.

⁹¹ Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, pp. 362-63; Elizabeth Baigent, 'Lansdell, Henry (1841-1919)', *ODNB*.

⁹² *LCM Magazine*, No. 646, Vol. LV, September 1890, p. 215.

the BLF and whose firm Dent Allcroft gave money to the LCM; Allcroft's business partner Sir Francis Lycett, a Methodist, was an officer of the SBS.⁹³

The 'Renaissance of Stewardship' was confined to the mid-nineteenth century. In Great Britain, the revival lasted until the mid 1870s and then gradually fell into decline as the classic texts issued in the 1850s fell out of print.⁹⁴ This revival in stewardship coincided with the need to fund the massive mission expansion that occurred in Britain and America. Charles Maxfield, in his research on early American missionary movements, argues that systematic beneficence as Christian stewardship was developed in the nineteenth century to meet the funding needs of the new founded missionary organisations because the ambitious systematic schemes of work needed regular and reliable streams of funding.⁹⁵ The Reverend William King Tweedie (1803-1863), Church of Scotland minister, writing in *Man and His Money: Its use and abuse*, in the mid 1850s, claimed that the impact of the new Christian stewardship could be seen in the annual income figures for the 'one hundred societies in Evangelical Christendom'. He said that the increased benevolence was due to 'the progress of man's feeling of obligation to God'.⁹⁶ As the societies in this study were established in the 1860s, it is not possible to suggest a correlation between their income levels and the dialogue in the 1860s about proportionate giving. However, the launch of the BLF was extremely well

⁹³ Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, pp. 364-65 and p. 434.

⁹⁴ Calkins notes the same trend in America, the stewardship revival lasted until the mid 1870s and then gradually fell into decline as the classic texts issued in the 1850s fell out of print, resulting in the event that the generation after the American Civil War were not educated in the doctrine of stewardship. Calkins, *A Man and His Money*, p. 120. Lansdell suggests that the SBS fell into decline because of a 'lack of proper organisation'; he criticised it for not having an auxiliary infrastructure or a membership and pledging system. A possible factor in the decline of the SBS may have been the death of Robert Cathers, the SBS secretary, in 1879. Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, pp. 527-28 and pp. 536-37; *Proceeding of the Church Congress*, 1888, p. 556; *Belfast-Newsletter*, 28 November 1879, p. 7.

⁹⁵ Charles A. Maxfield, 'The "Reflex Influence" of Missions: The Domestic Operations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1850', Union Theological Seminary, Virginia, USA, PhD thesis, 1995, Chapter 7.

⁹⁶ William King Tweedie, *Man and His Money: Its Use and Abuse* (London, 1855), p. 38. It is not possible to accurately quantify contributions to voluntary organisations during the 1850s and 1860s because there are not any consistent figures in charitable directories that cover this period.

supported financially if considered in the context of the lacklustre support for the LDCBS. In addition, the income of the LCM and the CMS, both evangelical societies, both experienced a sustained boost in their income levels in the mid to late 1850s.⁹⁷

Although the SBS movement was interdenominational in character and arguably produced more Nonconformist than Anglican literature, it is reasonable to speculate that it influenced the philanthropy of some individual Anglicans. This mid-century campaign was clearly influential to later Anglicans at the end of the nineteenth century who saw stewardship as a means of reviving Church finance.⁹⁸ Additionally, the mid-century dialogue on proportionate giving also influenced Anglican giving by making the High Church mechanism of the offertory acceptable to Evangelicals.

4. The Replacement of Giving with Fundraising

The Rise of the Charitable Bazaar

As the stewardship revival lost influence, after the 1870s, in Britain and America its ethos was replaced by money-raising techniques that concentrated on entertainment.⁹⁹ The essential different basis in these methods was that they involved an exchange of goods; money was being given in return for entertainment in the form of a bazaar, sale of works, concert or recital. The form of fundraising that came in for the most criticism, as being an unsuitable way of raising money for religious purposes, either for a religious charity or for a particular church, was the bazaar or fancy fair. Commercial bazaars had risen up in the 1810s: these bazaars

⁹⁷ It is not possible to use the SPG as a comparative study because its income levels were dramatically affected with the abolition of the royal letter in 1853.

⁹⁸ This point is explored further in the next section.

⁹⁹ Calkins, *A Man and His Money*, p. 120.

were marketplaces where individuals (mainly women) could rent a stall to sell their wares.¹⁰⁰ Modelled on this format, the charity bazaar was employed on a great scale by women, particularly upper-class ladies, in the nineteenth century to raise funds for charitable objects. The bazaar differed greatly from its materially poorer cousin, the humble sale of works carried out by societies such as the LDDI. Such efforts were unanimously praised as a noble effort of giving time to a charity when the individual had little money to give. In contrast, the large London bazaars were roundly condemned for being fashionable, lavish in scale, and morally suspect. William Makepeace Thackeray, Charles Dickens and James Joyce all criticised the charity bazaar in their novels.¹⁰¹

The charitable bazaar and its associated forms of fundraising (such as, concerts and dramatic performances) were used to raise monies to support home-missionary organisations (such as the High Church PMWA), foreign-missionary organisations (such as the Evangelical CMS) and church-building projects. Criticisms of charitable bazaars in aid of religious objects had started in the 1840s and 1850s.¹⁰² Prochaska commented that it was mainly High Churchmen that were against bazaars; the High Church view was that the clergy should promote the offertory as means of worship.¹⁰³ In 1887, the High Church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) refused to accept funds that were being raised through the medium of a bazaar. A letter from Henry William Tucker (1830-1902), the Secretary of the SPG, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward White Benson, expressed the society's 'humiliation' at being connected with this 'indiscrete practice'.¹⁰⁴ Evangelical

¹⁰⁰ Tammy C. Whitlock, *Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture in Nineteenth Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). See Chapter 2 'Vanity Fairs: The Growth of Bazaars and Fancy Fairs'.

¹⁰¹ Gary R. Dyer, 'The "Vanity Fair" in Nineteenth Century England: Commerce, Women and the East in the Ladies' Bazaar', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 46:2 (September 1991), pp. 196-222.

¹⁰² For example see, Robert Wilson Evans, *The Bishopric of Souls* (London: Rivingtons, 1844) and John James Blunt, *The Duties of the Parish Priest* (London: John Murray, 1856).

¹⁰³ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 68.

¹⁰⁴ LPL Ms. Benson 46 ff. 66-72. A copy of the bazaar's programme is filed in these papers.

societies, such as the CMS, Prochaska suggests, were more likely to be open to charitable bazaars; this was he reasons, because of, the higher level of involvement from women.¹⁰⁵ The PMWA, in particular, fully utilised 'Society' contacts and social events in order to fundraise through art exhibitions, readings, concerts and dramatic performances. This involvement of women would seem indeed to be the key to understanding the acceptance of this fundraising method. As explained in Chapters 4 and 5, in the societies chosen for this study, the most important indicator of acceptance of entertainment forms of fundraising was gender. The male societies did not raise many funds through forms of entertainment. The only references to the BLF having received money from such sources date to the early twentieth century. The suggestion is that as time went on such methods became more prevalent.

In the late 1880s and early 1890s three texts were published which expressed the dangers inherent to the Church in these new fundraising methods. In England, the major text on the evils of the charitable bazaar, *Fancy Fair Religion* (1888), was written by the Reverend John Priestly Foster. Foster argued that 'Fancy Fair Religion' was destroying Christian charity because 'Christians now-a-days are not exhorted to support their Religion on principle, but they are to be enticed to do so through pleasure'.¹⁰⁶ In America, at the same time Newton Wray was making the same point in *Fun and Finance* (1890). Wray said that the 'young grow up and enter the Church with no idea of systematic and liberal giving, naturally supposing the demands of Christian work are to be met by some system of exchange'.¹⁰⁷ Also in Scotland, the Reverend Charles Jerdan, a United Presbyterian Church minister in Greenock, published the pamphlet *The Counterfeit in Church Finance and Christian Giving* (1891). Foster, Wray

¹⁰⁵ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ J. Priestly Foster, *Fancy Fair Religion: or, The World Converting Itself* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1888), p. 121 and p. 134.

¹⁰⁷ Newton Wray, *Fun and Finance: A Discussion of Modern Church Novelties in Connection with the Subject of Christian Giving* (Boston, Mass: McDonald Gill, 1890), p. 10.

and Jerdan all argued that the clergy needed to preach from their pulpits the doctrine of systematic giving and stewardship.¹⁰⁸ Such an education in stewardship would eradicate the need for these unsuitable means of fundraising.

Attempts to Reawaken Stewardship and Systematic Giving at the End of the Nineteenth Century

This strong condemnation of the charitable bazaar at the end of the nineteenth century coincided with attempts to revive the doctrine of stewardship and systematic giving. In 1886, the mixed Church party Society of the Treasury of God (STG) was established in London; a Canadian version was established in the previous year.¹⁰⁹ The first meeting of the British STG stated that the society had been 'formed for the purpose of restoring the law of the tenth and awakening the minds of Churchmen to the fact that a tenth of all income or increase is due to God not as a matter of gift but as of debt'.¹¹⁰ The STG advertised in a wide range of newspapers: the *Guardian*, *The Record*, *Church Times*, *Church Review*, *Church Bells*, *Weekly Churchman*, *The Church in the West*, and *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*.¹¹¹ Its members gave papers at meetings of English Church Union in 1892 and raised the issue at diocesan conferences and through the publication of leaflets.¹¹² The fifth Annual Report of the STG reported in 1894 that the 'growth of our Society is not what we could wish. Our objects, work, and rules are not popular, and do not attract members, or even associates, in great numbers. This is not to be wondered at, when we consider the laxity of Church teaching and practice

¹⁰⁸ Foster, *Fancy Fair Religion*, p. 164; Wray, *Fun and Finance*, p. 143; Charles Jerdan, *The Counterfeit in Church Finance and Christian Giving* (London: James Nisbet, 1891), p. 21. See also LHAC, Ms. A/69/18/1/1, STG Minute Book 1886 to 1920, 12 June 1893: glued in pamphlet by Edward Liddell, *The Poverty-Stricken Clergy and the Society of the Treasury of God. A paper by Rev Edward Liddell (Hon Canon of Durham). Read at the Gen Meeting of the Society at the Church House, Westminster on 12 June 1893* (London: Society of the Treasury of God, 1893), p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ The STG Master between 1890 and 1914 was the Anglo-Catholic Athelstan Riley (1858 – 1945); he was followed by the Evangelical Henry Lansdell who was Master between 1914 and 1919.

¹¹⁰ LHAC, Ms. A/69/18/1/1, STG Minute Book, 1886-1920, 9 January 1886.

¹¹¹ LHAC, Ms. A/69/18/1/1, STG Minute Book, 1886-1920, 12 December 1891.

¹¹² LHAC, Ms. A/69/18/1/1, STG Minute Book, 1886-1920, 21 June 1892.

concerning the tithe.’¹¹³ The society fell into decline in the period after 1895, and in 1914 a meeting was held in order to revive it; Henry Lansdell (1841-1919), an Evangelical, was elected as the new Master.¹¹⁴ The STG members Henry Lansdell and Charles Ashwell Boteler Pocock (1829-1899) both credited the book *Gold and the Gospel* and the work of the SBS in the 1850s and 1860s for awakening their initial interest in stewardship and systematic giving.¹¹⁵ In addition to the STG, the Evangelical Edwin Arthur Watkins (1827-1907) established the Proportionate Giving Union (PGU) in 1887. Watkins was Vicar of Ubbeston in Suffolk and had previously been a missionary in Canada for the CMS. He started the PGU to revive the state of the funds raised for foreign missions and by the early 1900s the society had about 500 members.¹¹⁶ Between 1887 and 1907, the PGU estimated that it had distributed 430,000 of the society’s publications.¹¹⁷ This society, despite its extensive distribution of tracts, appears to have been principally the work of one man; there is no hint in its literature of committee members, influential patrons, or of national meetings. A STG member commented in 1893 that he had joined the PGU but was ‘disappointed at its inaction’.¹¹⁸ Both the STG and PGU shared the American model of stewardship society membership which required all members to take a pledge that they give a proportionate amount of income.¹¹⁹ The work of these two small societies had no noticeable impact on the income levels of the diocesan societies in this study. The value of their work was in raising concerns regarding the Church’s deficiency in promoting stewardship in conferences nationally, thereby highlighting the concern that the current generations of Christians were growing up without a strong ethos of giving and were, therefore, giving less.

¹¹³ LHAC, Ms. A/69/18/6/5a, *Fifth STG Annual Report* (London: Charles Cull, 1894), p. 7.

¹¹⁴ Attempts were made to revive the STG in 1914 on the death of the Honorary Secretary Stephen Gunyon. See LHAC, Ms. A/69/18/1/1, STG Minute Book, 1886-1920, 26 June 1914.

¹¹⁵ Pocock, *Why Give*, p. 5; Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, p. 605.

¹¹⁶ James Silvester, *A Pioneer of Proportionate Giving: A Brief Memoir of the Rev. E.A. Watkins* (Clacton-on-Sea, 1912), pp. 3-8; Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, pp. 439-40.

¹¹⁷ Silvester, *A Pioneer of Proportionate Giving*, p. 14.

¹¹⁸ LHAC, Ms. A/69/18/1/1, STG Minute Book, 1886-1920, 28 October, 1893.

¹¹⁹ Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, p. 439

From the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s, the need to encourage systematic almsgiving was repeatedly being raised in various diocesan conferences: for example Winchester in 1887, Manchester in 1888, Chichester in 1891, Ripon in 1891, Wakefield in 1892, Worcester in 1896, Liverpool in 1896, Truro in 1896, and Peterborough in 1898.¹²⁰ In 1888 proportionate giving was one of the topics discussed at Church Congress.¹²¹ The Liverpool Diocesan Conference of 1896 passed a resolution saying that the clergy should encourage proportionate giving and should discourage 'questionable methods' of Church fundraising (both in the sense of parish funding and missionary funding). This thought was echoed by the Worcester Diocesan Conference of 1896 which also resolved that 'the necessity and blessing of proportionate and systematic almsgiving should be earnestly and frequently pressed upon all church people'.¹²² The STG was instrumental at raising this as an issue at many of the conferences held in 1891 and 1892.¹²³ In 1891 for example, Frederick Henry Rooke (1842-1899), an STG member, addressed the Rochester Diocesan Conference. He said that: 'The duty of vigorously denouncing in sermons the sins of covetousness, and the frequent teaching of the law of tithing, is much neglected in the present day by the clergy; and until this duty is taught and practiced, the Church will ever suffer from impecuniosity and starvation.'¹²⁴ In 1897, a full meeting of the Central Council of Diocesan Conferences was held in London to discuss the problem of clerical incomes. The meeting was chaired by Wilbraham Egerton, first Earl Egerton (1832-1909), a financial supporter of both the BLF and ELCF. Egerton argued

¹²⁰ Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, p. 413-14; *The Hampshire Advertiser*, 15 June 1887, p. 1; *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 13 October 1888, p. 8; *The Standard*, 31 October 1891, p. 3; *The Yorkshire Herald*, and *The York Herald*, 24 October 1891, p. 6; *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 22 October 1892, p. 7; *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 3 October 1896, p. 3; *Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury*, 15 October 1898, p. 2.

¹²¹ *The Times*, 29 March 1888, p. 5.

¹²² Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, pp. 413-14.

¹²³ LHAC, Ms. A/69/18/1/1, STG Minute Book, 1886-1920, 19 November 1892; 28 October 1893.

¹²⁴ Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, p. 455. See also F.H. Rooke, *Systematic Almsgiving, a Paper, Revised, with Note* (London, 1890).

that the whole question of Church finance was in great need of reorganisation because ‘the Church of England had never, of recent years certainly, taught in her pulpits the duty of systematic Church finance’.¹²⁵ This reawakened interest in systematic almsgiving was employed for the benefit of the BLF in 1895 when William Boyd Carpenter, the Bishop of Ripon preached a sermon entitled ‘Our Lord’s Teaching with Regard to Beneficence’ in aid of the BLF at Westminster Abbey. He preached that too many people gave money only in response to emotional appeals; instead, he advocated the practice of systematic giving.¹²⁶ These examples highlight the increasing debate regarding proportionate giving at the end of the nineteenth century, in the context of the Church’s concerns about the state of its finances and how the laity should be doing more financially to support it. It also highlights the fact that the men endeavouring to raise the subject were all of the same generation, born in the late 1820s to early 1840s; these men would all have been in their adulthood at the time of the mid-century renaissance in stewardship.

In 1906, Lansdell attempted to reinvigorate the subject with the publication of his book *The Sacred Tenth*; a revised version of this book was issued in 1908 under the title *The Tithe in Scripture*. The monthly journal, *The Philanthropist*, promoted the publication of Lansdell’s book, and hoped that it would give the subject a much needed impetus. It said: ‘The subject is one which is singularly appropriate for discussion at the present time when so large a proportion of the public have apparently forgotten this eminently desirable duty of systematic giving to the causes of religion and charity.’¹²⁷ Commenting upon the relevance of stewardship to missionary funding, the London Missionary Society in its review of Lansdell’s

¹²⁵ *The Times*, 29 April 1897, p. 11.

¹²⁶ William Boyd Carpenter, *Our Lord’s Teaching with Regard to Beneficence: A Sermon Preached by the Lord Bishop of Ripon, in Westminster Abbey, June 19th, 1895, on Behalf of the Bishop of London’s Fund* (London: Brettel, 1895).

¹²⁷ *The Philanthropist*, Vol. XXVII, No. 10, 22 October 1906, p. 163.

book said that: 'We badly need a new crusade on the subject of systematic and proportionate giving.'¹²⁸ The reissue of a revised version of the book in 1908 coincided with Lansdell's address to the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908.¹²⁹ At the Pan-Anglican Tithers' Garden Party of 1908, several Bishops expressed their wish 'that the giving of Anglican Churchmen may return to more habitual, Scriptural, and systematic methods than at present prevail'.¹³⁰ The writers of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century recognised that the ethos of stewardship had waned and was in need of fresh reinvigoration, and that as a consequence of this the Anglican laity had forgotten its financial obligations, which tallies with the evidence presented here of a clear decline in giving to the societies in this study. The timing of this reawakened dialogue regarding stewardship coincided with a radical restructure of diocesan church finance which encompassed both the funding of diocesan home-missionary organisations and parishes.

5. The Creation of a New Financial Structure to Fund the Parish and Diocesan Home-missionary Work: the Diocesan Board of Finance

The germ of the idea for centralised finance for the Church of England came from two sources. Firstly, a Church of England committee, formed in 1907, found that the low level of ordinations was caused by various different financial factors. The committee recommended an overhaul of the financial system that provided money for clergy pensions and training.¹³¹ Secondly, the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908 was convened to survey the work of the Anglican Church throughout the world. The idea that came from this Congress was that the

¹²⁸ Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 1, no page number. Page titled a 'Catena of Brevities'.

¹²⁹ Henry Lansdell, *Back to the Tithe: An Address Delivererd to the Pan-Anglican Congress* (London, Burnside: 1909), p17.

¹³⁰ Lansdell, *Back to the Tithe*, pp. 20-21. The Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908 led to a recommendation by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to review the subject of church finance in England.

¹³¹ Katherine Welch Orr-Nimmo, 'Changes in the methods of financing of the Church of England, c. 1870-1920 with special reference to the parochial clergy', University of Oxford, DPhil thesis, 1983, p. 273.

Church in England could learn from the Church overseas in terms of efficiency and finance.¹³² The Church overseas was entirely reliant on voluntary contributions and could not afford to mismanage its funds, or withstand its contributions drying up. In 1908 the magazine *The Philanthropist* said, regarding the upcoming Pan-Anglican Congress, that the Church's growth was being stunted by lack of 'food'. Instead it argued that the Church should stop begging for money and should instead introduce a 'solid system of finance'.¹³³

In response to the Pan-Anglican Congress, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York appointed, in 1909, a committee 'to consider the position, administration, and mutual relation of the various funds which are raised for Church purposes by voluntary subscription, whether Diocesan, Provincial or General, and the most effectual means of using such funds to supplement endowments of the Church'.¹³⁴ The principal rationale behind the work of the committee was that the provision of the needs of the Church was 'the duty of the whole Church and not of the individual Parish' and that in order to carry this out effectively the Church must make the diocese 'its financial unit'.¹³⁵ The Evangelical Reverend Edward Grose Hodge, speaking as a London Diocesan Board of Finance committee member, set out the circumstances for the new scheme: 'the Church has lived hand to mouth; it has been beg, beg, beg, with very inadequate response – all very unbusinesslike and very unworthy ... Whatever may be said of the past, it is clear that the present methods will not avail for the future.'¹³⁶ Hodge, as Vicar and Rural Dean of Paddington, had lengthy experience of the issue of finance in the Diocese of London. The Committee produced its report in 1911 which recommended

¹³² William Cunningham, *Efficiency in the Church of England: Remarks Suggested by the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance* (London: Murray, 1912), pp. 1-2.

¹³³ *The Philanthropist*, Vol. XXIX, No. 5, May 1908, pp. 65-66.

¹³⁴ Cunningham, *Efficiency in the Church of England*, pp. 4-5.

¹³⁵ Thomas Allen Moxon, *Reform in Church Finance: Four papers on the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance* (London: Christian Knowledge Society, 1912), p. 15.

¹³⁶ E. Grose Hodge, *Church Finance in the Diocese of London: A Popular Explanation of the Scheme Adopted by the Diocesan Conference on June 29th, 1913* (London: Christian Knowledge Society, 1913), p. 3.

the creation of a Central Board of Finance with subsidiary Diocesan Boards of Finance (DBF).¹³⁷ The seven objects that the DBF was responsible for funding were: training for the ministry; maintenance of the ministry; pensions for the ministry; provision for needy clergy, and widows and orphans of clergy; church buildings and church extension; religious education for children; and general diocesan expenses.¹³⁸ The scheme therefore provided both financially for the parish and financially for diocesan home-missionary work.

Under the new system, the diocese assessed each rural deanery and calculated a sum (called the apportionment) that the deanery was required to pay to the Board. Each deanery would then allocate a sum (called the parochial quota) to be raised by each parish according to the size of its congregation and its financial condition.¹³⁹ The parish raised its quota through the introduction of the church due; this was a 'voluntary' amount to be paid by the parishioner according to his or her means. The suggested rate of the church due was no less than one half penny per week. The DBF, therefore, was responsible for controlling and administering all aspects of diocesan finance; this involved raising the money for diocesan needs. The diocesan organisations that became part of the London DBF were the BLF, ELCF, Ordination Candidates Council, Queen Victoria Clergy Fund, Clergy Pensions Institution, Clergy Widows Fund, Clergy Schools Association, and the Sunday School Council. There was a period of transition when subscriptions continued to be paid directly to these voluntary organisations. Consequently, in the first years the parish quotas were reduced to reflect this. The London DBF commenced its integration with the diocesan societies in January 1914.¹⁴⁰ The diocesan wide church collections from 1914 were held in aid of the DBF, and could not be held in aid

¹³⁷ Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance, *Report, with Recommendations and Appendices* (London: Longmans, 1911).

¹³⁸ Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance, *Report*, p. 10.

¹³⁹ Nesbitt, *Church Finance*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁰ LMA Ms. DL/A/K/09/09/009, BLF bundle of Secretary's correspondence, Draft appeal letter by London DBF (undated); Nesbitt, *Church Finance*, p. 5. Nesbitt was the London DBF's solicitor.

of societies such as the BLF and ELCF. On 1 January 1918 the BLF merged fully with the DBF (and ceased to exist as a separate entity) to form a newly reconstituted body called the Bishop of London's Diocesan Fund, known generally in its shortened form of the London Diocesan Fund.¹⁴¹

The report of the Archbishops' committee emphasised 'the need to arouse a sense of responsibility among church people, and upon the need for a higher standard of giving and systematic instruction in the principles of the matter'.¹⁴² William Cunningham (1849-1919), Archdeacon of Ely, commenting on the Archbishops' report, argued that the current mixture of almsgiving and popular entertainment fundraisers was inadequate to the Church's needs, instead the 'one hope for the development of sources on which the Church can rely, is to be found in creating a definite and intelligent understanding of the work in which she is engaged'.¹⁴³ To explain the new scheme to parishioners, the Diocese of London produced three leaflets. Leaflet No. I entitled *Paying for Religion* took a rather strident tone saying to the reader:

If you want *Recreation* you must pay for it...If you want *Amusement*, you must pay for it...If you want *Medical* services, you must pay for them... If you want *Legal* services, you must pay for them...Then, when you get *Religious* services, is it reasonable to expect to get them for *nothing* – or next to nothing?¹⁴⁴

This leaflet, which lumped religious provision with leisure and business services, was devoid of any sense of stewardship. Any sense of a relationship with God had been eliminated and was replaced with an economic exchange of goods, an exchange which made the Church simply one product amongst many. Overall, the whole initiative seemed more concerned with

¹⁴¹ Nesbitt, *Church Finance*, pp. 45-47.

¹⁴² Johnston, *Stewardship and the Gospel*, p. 2; Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance, *Report, with recommendations*, p. 58; Moxon, *Reform in Church Finance*, p. 26.

¹⁴³ Cunningham, *Efficiency in the Church of England*, pp. 28-29

¹⁴⁴ Church Finance Leaflet No. II '*Irresistible*' set out the need for diocesan financial reform and Leaflet No. III '*The Method of Raising Funds*' explained the new system of parish apportionment and the parochial quota.

how the money was to be raised than the motive for giving. The emphasis was on getting people to give systematically and regularly in order to pay for the services that the church supplied to the individual and to others. David Alan Hunter Johnston, a layman and member of the Central Board of Finance, in his evaluation of the implementation of the recommendations of the Archbishops' committee, argued that its achievements were mainly in relation to organisation and machinery and that it failed in its aim to 'arouse a sense of responsibility among church people'.¹⁴⁵ In 1918, a book produced by the clergy and laymen of the Diocese of London, entitled *The Gospel of Giving*, lamented the continuing lack of a strong ethos of stewardship in the Church: 'It is a truism that whatever we possess belongs to God; that we are merely stewards, and that nothing is really our own. Everyone knows this and admits it, but few act upon it.'¹⁴⁶

At the same time in America, Harvey Reeves Calkins (1866-1941), Stewardship Secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in his book *A Man and His Money* (1914), was recommending that it was education in stewardship that was needed rather than financial drives. The introduction of the measures of the Archbishops' committee was recognition of the fact that the Church needed to create a sense of financial responsibility in the Anglican community.¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the overall effect of the new DBF was that it introduced a new mechanism for payment rather than an ethos for giving.

5. Conclusion

The Christian stewardship campaign of the mid-century sought to systematise and regulate giving. Its aim was to make philanthropy a regular habit rather than an occasional emotional

¹⁴⁵ Johnston, *Stewardship of Money*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ *The Gospel of Giving: Sermons, Outlines, and Papers by Clergymen and Laymen of the Diocese of London* (London: SPCK, 1918), p. 32.

¹⁴⁷ Thompson, *Bureaucracy and Church Reform*, p. xxi

response. The timing of the launch of the Christian stewardship campaigns, in terms of the literature and the establishment of the SBS, was opportune for the new voluntary organisations established in Bishop Tait's episcopacy in London which were poised to reap the rewards of this newly awakened spirit of systematised giving. It is possible that this was one of the reasons that Tait's new organisations were responded to so enthusiastically; the financial success of the BLF was marked in contrast with the lacklustre support of the LDCBS. Writing in 1908, Lansell looked back to the vibrant stewardship ethos of the mid-nineteenth century: 'Much was done, generally, forty years ago, by means of lectures, addresses, and literature, by the Systematic Beneficence Society... Individuals, as we know, were influenced, and fruit appeared'.¹⁴⁸ In the 1870s the ethos of stewardship had begun to wane and in the place of the Christian stewardship, secular fundraising methods such as the charitable bazaar became more commonplace. In the late 1880s, this problem was being more widely discussed in Church Congress, diocesan conferences, in different publications and through the work of the STG and PGU. Lansdell recognised that new efforts were needed to reawaken this ethos.

This chapter has discussed the motivations for philanthropy in both secular and religious guises, with a view to understand why individuals gave money to religious voluntary organisations. This was with the purpose of emphasising the explicitly religious based motives behind philanthropy. It is with this in mind that this chapter has discussed the attitudes towards giving and the underlying theology of giving in the late nineteenth century. Motive is an important indicator of the strength and longevity of the philanthropic relationship. Individuals (such as Lord Overstone or Richard Foster) who gave principally from religious conviction, gave more because they gave systematically every year. They regarded their stewardship of money as being an essential part of their Christian life. Chapter 5 argued that the Anglican

¹⁴⁸ Lansdell, *The Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, p. 527.

organisations chosen for this study experienced a decline in giving at the end of the century. In particular, its analysis identified the loss of the wealthy male supporter towards the end of the nineteenth century. This chapter has argued that the decline in financial support identified in this study may be attributed to changing attitudes to giving in the second half of the nineteenth century. It has identified the Church's anxiety regarding the absence of both the teaching and practice of Christian stewardship in the late nineteenth century. This theme will be developed in the next chapter which will argue that as the Victorian age progressed and finally ended, so with it passed a generation of philanthropic and wealthy businessmen who viewed the funding of the Church as an obligation.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

1. Introduction

The economist and social reformer Beatrice Webb (1858-1943), writing in the 1920s, commented that one of the most striking changes that she had observed in her lifetime was the decline in the practice of charity. Recalling the ‘enlightened philanthropist of mid-Victorian times’ she remarked upon the charitable ethos of her youth:

To the unsophisticated Christian; even of the nineteenth century, almsgiving was essentially a religious exercise; a manifestation of his love of God, and his obedience to the command of his Lord and Saviour... Yet this universal and unquestioning yielding up of personal possessions for common consumption was thought to be the ideal conduct; the precious fruit of divine compassion. The spirit of unquestioning, of unrestricted – in short, of infinite – charity was, to the orthodox Christian, not a process by which a given end could be attained, but an end in itself – a state of mind – one of the main channels through which the individual entered into communion with the supreme spirit of love at work in the universe.¹

The giving of alms, referred to by Webb, was more than just a financial transaction between two people. It involved a sense of obligation by those in the middle- and upper-classes for those in the working-class.² It is this loss of obligation, in combination with how individuals thought about their money that is one subject of this thesis. By the turn of the century many of the voluntary organisations in this study were experiencing financial difficulties. In most cases the number of financial supporters had declined and in conjunction with this the annual income of the societies had suffered. In parallel with this, various local case studies have shown that the parish churches themselves, in this period, were also experiencing a decline in financial support.³ This chapter will reflect upon the changes experienced by the voluntary organisations in order to consider whether they are symptoms of a wider phenomenon.

¹ Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (London: Longmans, 1926), p. 194 and p. 198.

² See Jones’ description of gift theory in *Outcast London*, pp. 251-52.

³ See Section 3 of this chapter which refers to research by Simon Green (in relation to Yorkshire) and Jeremy Morris (in relation to Croydon).

2. The Changing Ethos of Giving

As discussed in Chapter 7, the decline in giving to the diocesan home-missionary organisations in London coincided with a national debate in the late nineteenth century regarding the most effective and ethically appropriate way to raise money for religious causes.⁴ The problem with the new methods increasingly being used was that it was the money that was the thing that mattered, not how it was obtained. John Priestly Foster argued in 1888, that it was specifically this slow destruction of the ethos of giving that was responsible for the poor state of the funds of both churches and charitable institutions. This view was echoed in the annual report of the Free and Open Church Association in 1905. The society's council passed a resolution against 'the growing practice of raising money for Church purposes by means of un-Scriptural and unworthy methods, which are often a scandal to the Church, injurious to those who take part in them, and calculated to lower Christian standards of stewardship and responsibility'.⁵ Foster dismissed economic reasons for being responsible for this poor financial state, because he argued that logically if the economy was the reason, then bazaars would also struggle to raise funds for charitable objects. Foster's particular concern was that the new generation of Anglicans was growing up equating Christian charity with bazaars and other fundraising methods that coaxed money from individuals.⁶ He and other writers argued that the Anglican laity achieving adulthood in the late nineteenth century had grown up with the experience that money should be given in exchange for some form of entertainment; that there should be some form of motivation in order to give. William Boyd Carpenter, the Bishop of Ripon speaking at the 1891 diocesan conference on the topic of almsgiving, regretted what he called the 'miserable' shift that had occurred in Church fundraising. He said: 'Sales of work and Bazaars are unfortunate necessities, they are not

⁴ Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 131.

⁵ *Forty-first Free and Open Church Association Annual Report*, pp. 4-5.

⁶ Foster, *Fancy Fair Religion*, p. 24 and pp. 135-36.

charity in its highest sense, they give rise to a totally false conception of charity. Every Bazaar, which is advertised as a mode of raising money, is in itself an indictment against the liberality of Churchmen.’⁷

In the absence of case studies relating to the state of parish finances in the Diocese of London, it is necessary to relate the findings of this thesis to Simon Green’s study of religion in Industrial Yorkshire (in the period 1870 to 1920), Jeremy Morris’ study religion in Croydon (in the period 1840 to 1914), and Stephen Yeo’s study of voluntary religious and secular organisations in Reading (in the period 1890 to 1914).⁸ All three noted a financial crisis of debt in local churches in the late nineteenth century.⁹ Morris makes the significant point that this crisis in parish finances was occurring at a time when the number of communicants in the Anglican Church was increasing.¹⁰ Green reports that after the mid 1870s bazaars became a significant mode of raising money for parish churches, becoming particularly significant as a proportional source of church-funding after the 1890s.¹¹ This increase in the use of bazaars was in the context of the abolition of the compulsory church rate in 1868 and the phasing out of pew rents in the late nineteenth century. Green argues that this change in financing local churches constituted a fundamental ethical change in the ‘doctrine of voluntary beneficence’, in other words that it affected the foundation of the ethos of giving.¹² He argues that ‘in the moral scale of the mid-Victorian ideal’ receipts (the mutual exchange of money for goods)

⁷ William Boyd Carpenter, *Two addresses Delivered at the Diocesan Conference, 1891: I. The Presidential Address. II. Systematic Almsgiving* (Knaresborough: A.W. Lowe, 1891), p. 14. Carpenter had held two London incumbencies before coming Bishop of Ripon: Vicar of St James, Holloway (1870-79); Vicar of Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, Paddington (1879-84). He was also a subscriber to the BLF.

⁸ Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*; Morris, *Religion and Urban Change*, p. 55; Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organisations*. Cox’s study of Lambeth makes only a brief reference to finance. He says that because of the variation of system in parochial accounts he was unable to find evidence for the decline in charity commented upon by Lambeth clergymen. Cox, *English Churches*, p. 204.

⁹ Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organisations*, p. 81; Morris, *Religion and Urban Change*, pp. 43-44; Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 161-62.

¹⁰ Morris, *Religion and Urban Change*, p. 183. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, pp. 161-63.

¹¹ Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 169. See also Green, ‘The Death of Pew Rents’.

¹² Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 131.

were the lowest form of revenue. The highest and most ethically superior forms of giving were those that involved obligation and commitment.¹³ In particular, Green argues that the end of pew rents resulted in the fracturing of the financial relationship between parishioner and church. He says that the pew rent 'was something more because the act (or the promise) of payment represented something greater than simply the exchange of financial tokens for the supply of religious services. It constituted a statement of allegiance by an individual to a society'.¹⁴ Essentially, this shift from forms of finance that involved a financial relationship and commitment, to forms of finance that involved an exchange of goods, meant that this important sense of obligation was lost. The churches had 'shifted their base of supply. They had ceased to depend on their members, at least as the real foundation of their financial organisation' and therefore precipitated their own demise.¹⁵ Green concluded that:

To shift the efficient organisation of the political economy of religious association from the fruits of individual generosity to the product of common enterprise, and also to transfer it from the moment of devotion to the hour of specialised fund-raising, was not merely to dabble with the symbolic peripheries of voluntary beneficence. It was systematically to redefine the 'price of faith', for it redefined who gave; and it redefined how they gave.¹⁶

Green therefore argues that the increasing reliance of parish churches upon forms of fundraising such as the bazaar fundamentally affected the Anglican's laity sense of financial obligation. The argument presented here is that this fracturing of the financial relationship between individual and Church was compounded by the fact that a new generation of Christians had grown up without an education in Christian stewardship.¹⁷ This meant that when the traditional financial bond between the laity and the Church was abandoned, the new generation of Christians had no solid ethos of giving to fall back upon. This absence of

¹³ Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 176.

¹⁴ Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 151.

¹⁵ Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 175.

¹⁶ Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 177.

¹⁷ As discussed in Chapter 7.

stewardship meant that more people came to view money as being their own property and consequently, they gave it up more reluctantly. Henry Lansdell, writing in 1906, shared this view:

Christians, in fact, are stewards: and a good steward ought so to manage the property entrusted to him as to make the most of it for his employer; whereas the average Christian nowadays, in too many cases, places the money passing through his hands into his own private banking account, draws upon it for his own wants, wishes, and whims, and then has the audacity to present the balance (if there be one) to his Master, as if that were worthy the name of stewardship!¹⁸

In the late nineteenth century, the churches stopped relying on the ‘theology of giving’ and turned instead to secular forms of fundraising.¹⁹ This situation was further exacerbated, when in 1911, the Church reorganised diocesan and central finance. This reorganisation introduced a new form of church finance that prioritised system over ethos. The decline in giving in this period experienced by both the diocesan voluntary organisations in London and the parish churches regionally highlights a shift in the Anglican laity’s attitude to financing their religion.

3. An End of an Era: the Deaths of the Paternalists

The loss of the paternalists of the Victorian age was observed in case studies relating to Reading, Lambeth, Croydon, and Yorkshire.²⁰ Yeo says that: ‘It is clear from the local press, particularly from obituaries, that the passing of a generation meant the passing of a whole local style of life.’²¹ Cox notes that when they died ‘no one stepped forward to replace’ them.²² Morris tentatively suggests that this loss may have had an impact on church finance. Lastly, both Cox and Morris suggest that the influential laymen of the early twentieth century

¹⁸ Lansdell, *Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, p. 466.

¹⁹ Lankford calls it the ‘theology of giving’: J.E. Lankford, ‘Protestant Stewardship and Benevolence, 1900-1941: A Study in Religious Philanthropy’, University of Wisconsin, PhD thesis, 1962, p. vi.

²⁰ Cox, *English Churches*, pp. 110-12 and p. 211; Morris, *Religion and Urban Change*, p. 168; Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organisations*, p. 105 and p. 300; Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 122.

²¹ Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organisations*, p. 105.

²² Cox, *English Churches*, p. 211 and p. 270.

preferred to commit their time to civic affairs rather than church affairs.²³ This suggests that lay energies of a new generation of laymen had transferred to other secular areas.

Chapters 4 to 6 established that the societies generally experienced, despite their best efforts, a decline in financial support from both individuals and from corporate sources. From the 1880s, the LDHM, LDDI and PMWA all experienced a slow decline in their income from donations and annual subscriptions. The ELCF (which was not established until 1880) suffered from a similar decline from the start of the twentieth century, with income falling off more dramatically in the 1910s as local association income began to decline. The BLF, which also suffered such a decline through the 1880s, experienced an upturn in its fortunes at the start of the twentieth century due to increased contributions from women. All of the societies attributed their waning finances to the fact that their wealthy benefactors were dying and were not being replaced with a new generation of philanthropists. The loss of these wealthy middle-class supporters was keenly felt by the societies: every Charles Morrison or Richard Foster that died was the equivalent of hundreds of female supporters. The deaths of such men, therefore, left gaping holes in the societies' accounts. In 1911 the ELCF referred to the substantial decline in subscriptions: 'It points unmistakeably to the fact that gaps which appear in the list, chiefly through the deaths of old friends, have not been filled up with new names.'²⁴ The Golden Jubilee report of the BLF, in 1913, said that its receipts had been, in the last few years, 'greatly affected by the passing away of old and very large contributors'.²⁵ This was echoed by the PMWA which started commenting on the loss of subscribers through death in 1896. In 1908, in its entry in the *London Diocesan Magazine*, the committee reported: 'The income has been seriously diminished by the death and removal of old subscribers, and the

²³ Morris, *Religion and Urban Change*, pp. 167-68; Cox, *English Churches*, p. 241.

²⁴ *LDM*, April 1911, p. 116

²⁵ BLF, *Origin of the BLF*, p. 6.

Committee earnestly appeal for new annual subscriptions, that they may not only maintain, but also extend their useful work.’²⁶ This phenomenon was commented upon by the LDDI in 1904 which diagnosed the problem with their finances as being due to the fact that their ‘older and wealthier friends are in the natural course of things, passing away’.²⁷ Analysis of the subscription lists of the BLF of 1912²⁸ and the ELCF of 1914²⁹ shows that the remaining wealthy male supporters were principally titled landowners, clergymen and the sons of deceased subscribers. The financial support of the landed peers, who owned substantial amounts of London property, had generally been maintained in this period. In some cases the individual amount of the contribution had diminished because of the impact of the new form of death duties; in 1894 the process of collecting probate duties had been reassessed and simplified to include all property passing on death.³⁰ However, the overall continuance of support suggests that they continued to feel obliged by virtue of their position in society to maintain the Established Church and support religious provision for their tenants.³¹ Analysis of the businessmen giving to the BLF and ELCF in the 1910s shows that most of them were born in the 1830s and 1840s; these men were of the same generation as Henry Lansdell (1841-1919) who made great efforts to revive proportionate giving and Christian stewardship in the

²⁶ *Official Yearbook of the Church of England*, 1896, pp. 65-66; *LDM*, December 1908, p. 380.

²⁷ *AD*, No. 66, April 1904, p. 87.

²⁸ In 1912, the BLF received 25 large sums from men. (For the purposes of context, the BLF received 36 large sums from men in 1873). 14 of these sums in 1912 came from either titled landowners or clergymen, 11 sums came from businessmen. Of these 11, nine were quite elderly men who had been born in the 1830s or 1840s. The two ‘younger’ men (both born in 1868) were both sons of BLF subscribers. The two were: William Frederick Danvers Smith (1868-1928), son of the stationer William Henry Smith (1825-1891), both Smiths were BLF committee members; and Cecil Henry Oliverson (1868-1943) a solicitor, whose father Richard Oliverson (1831-1901) subscribed to the BLF. The two bankers and one brewer in the BLF subscription list of 1912 were all born in the 1840s: Francis Augustus Bevan (1840-1919); William Cleverley Alexander (1840-1916); and Edward Cecil Guinness, first Earl of Iveagh (1847-1927).

²⁹ In 1914 only one man made a large contribution to the ELCF; this was from the second Viscount Portman (1829-1919), a hereditary titled landowner. In 1899 six men made large contributions to the ELCF; these men included Charles Morrison (1817-1909) and Richard Foster (1822-1910).

³⁰ The second Duke of Westminster wrote to the ELCF in 1901 to express his apologies that due to the ‘heavy succession duties’ it was not yet possible to make a contribution. LMA, Ms. DL/A/K/11/01, ELCF Minute Book, Vol. 5 1900-06, 26 May 1901. The Duke did not start making contributions until 1909.

³¹ The BLF subscription list of 1912 listed three dukes, two marquesses, eight earls and the monarch. This was higher than the one duke, five marquesses and six earls listed in the 1873 BLF subscription list. Every generation of the Dukes of Westminster and the Dukes of Devonshire maintained their financial support of the BLF in the period up until World War I.

early twentieth century. Likewise the only male subscriber giving £10 or more to the LDDI in the period 1900 to 1914 was a committee member who had been giving to the organisation for over 40 years.³² This analysis highlights the complete absence of a new generation of businessmen coming forward to support these organisations financially. This shared commonality of experience is significant because it highlights the fact that a particular generation of wealthy supporters were passing away and were not being replaced by a new younger generation.

It is important to note that the LCM's income levels remained robust during the period of decline for the Anglican organisations. In its annual report for 1904/05, the LCM commented that 'The Committee are deeply thankful to God that, during a year when the nation has been tried, not only by depression in trade, but also by heavy taxation, the contributions to the Society's funds have been so well sustained'.³³ In fact the LCM annual reports often took a cheerful tone when reporting its buoyant finances. The LCM supporter numbers also experienced a decline in support which mainly consisted of male supporters but this decline was less marked than in the case of the BLF and ELCF. This would support the argument that the decline of stewardship was a factor. The LCM had a mix of both Anglican and Nonconformist supporters and therefore any change in an Anglican ethos of giving would be less marked in the LCM subscription lists. In addition, the buoyancy in the LCM income can be explained by the fact that Nonconformists had a longer history of voluntarism. This section has argued that the financial support of Anglican home-missionary organisations died with the passing of a philanthropic generation. This effect was also felt to lesser degree by the LCM which was only partially funded by the Anglican laity.

³² Henry Warner Prescott (1837-1926), a solicitor, was aged 77 in 1914. He had been subscribing £10 annually to the LDDI for over forty years. His brother was Reverend George Frederick Prescott (1827-1917) who held many LDDI committee positions.

³³ *Seventieth LCM Annual Report*, p. xv.

4. Conclusion

Money is vital to an organisation's survival, and religious organisations are no different in this respect, be they individual churches or religious voluntary organisations. This thesis has found that in the late nineteenth century there was a decline in giving to Anglican voluntary organisations, and that this decline was in parallel with a crisis in the state of parish finances. In particular, the analysis has highlighted that the wealthy businessman at the start of the twentieth century no longer felt financially responsible for upholding the Church. This loss of financial obligation suggests a wider loss of commitment to the Church of England.

It is important not to consider these findings in isolation as wider factors could also have a bearing on philanthropic behaviour. Various economic factors had a big impact on disposable income in the early twentieth century. These were the higher taxation rates imposed during the Boer War (1899 to 1902) and the implementation of the welfare reforms (1906 to 1914) of the new Liberal Government which were funded by higher taxation rates.³⁴ In particular, this burden was increased with the introduction of further compulsory contributions under the National Insurance Act in 1911, which provided unemployment and sickness benefit. The impact of these measures on church finance, particularly the National Insurance Act, was commented upon by the Vicar of Christ Church in North Brixton, and the local newspaper the *Brixton Free Press*. Cox suggests that it is perhaps the 'cumulative effects' of all of these reforms that impacted on the state of parish finances.³⁵ These various economic factors are, therefore, likely to have had an addition impact on levels of giving in the early twentieth century. It is noteworthy that this period, relating to the introduction of welfare measures and their associated financial burdens, coincided exactly with the financial crisis being

³⁴ Sabine, *History of Income Tax*, pp. 128-130 and p. 145. In 1894 the income tax rate was 8d; in 1901 (during the Boer War) it was 1s and 3d.

³⁵ Cox, *English Churches*, pp. 203-04.

experienced by the ELCF. However, it should be noted that many of the Anglican voluntary organisations chosen for this study, were in financial distress from the 1880s.³⁶ Finally, it is also possible that the decline in giving to Anglican organisation was because the Anglican laity had relocated their financial commitment to different charitable concerns, such as welfare charities or foreign-missionary organisations.³⁷ This would still, however, indicate that financially supporting the Church of England had become less important to the Anglican laity of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. It is useful to reiterate the point that the quotation from Beatrice Webb at the start of this chapter commented that in her experience people had become less charitable, not that they had transferred their charitable concerns elsewhere.³⁸

The introduction of this thesis claimed that a study of philanthropy, in the context of the financing of religious organisations, could make a valuable contribution to the secularisation debate. The sociologists Charles Glock and Rodney Stark argue that different religious groups vary in their degree of response to the different dimensions. Green reinforces this point: 'Different kinds of religious commitment, in other words, were (and still are) skewed by disparate cultural values, reflecting diverging social priorities.' This theory, which Green calls 'divergence theory', appreciates that different social groups participate in their religion in different ways.³⁹ Glock and Stark argue that studies have found that such differences can be found in class relationships with religion, with the upper-class and middle-class scoring more

³⁶ Additionally the SRA (established in 1844) also started to comment on its financial decline and its loss of principal funders through death from the 1880s. *Scripture Readers Journal*, No.152, May 1883, p. 266; No.155, January 1884, p. 327.

³⁷ It would be valuable to do comparative analysis of Anglican foreign-missionary organisations in this period to see if they experience the same trends as the Anglican home-missionary organisations in this study. Brian Stanley's thesis looks at the funding of the CMS and SPG (amongst others) in the earlier period of 1838 to 1873. His analysis does not include gender. See Stanley, 'Home Support for Overseas Missions in Early Victorian England'.

³⁸ See also Lansdell, *Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, p. 466; *The Philanthopist*, Vol. XXVII, No. 10, 22 October 1906, p. 163.

³⁹ Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 12.

highly in the 'ritualistic dimension' of religiosity and with the lower-class scoring more highly in the 'experiential dimension' of religion.⁴⁰ For example, Sarah Williams found that the working-class model of religiosity in Southwark did not conform to the middle-class model of formal church involvement.⁴¹ In addition, Hugh McLeod's research found different class levels of religious observance in London in the period between 1880 and 1914.⁴² This idea of the different expressions of religion is valuable methodologically in the secularisation debate.

Glock and Stark comment that:

Religion is not necessarily the same thing to all men; perhaps, therefore, the source of the disagreement is that different observers are defining religion in different ways. Some may equate it with belief, others with practice and still others with experience. If it should turn out that there has been an increase in one, a decline in the second, and no change in the third, much of the disagreement would be explained if not resolved.⁴³

This thesis develops a new dialogue in the secularisation debate that specifically focuses upon the religious commitment of middle-class and upper-class men. It argues that the period 1880 to 1910 marked a change in the 'consequential dimension' of religion for this sector of the Anglican laity. This is the dimension that relates to the behaviour of people as a consequence of their faith, so how people live out their Christians standards or ethical stance in their day-to-day lives. A change in financial behaviour was most strongly observed in the mercantile male middle-classes who, to borrow Callum Brown's phrase, 'cancelled their mass subscription' to Anglican home-missionary organisations.⁴⁴ The fracturing of the financial relationship between the layman and the Church, commented upon in this thesis, could be taken to be another indicator in the shift towards 'believing without belonging'.⁴⁵ The timing of this shift in ethos, from the promotion of the doctrine of Christian stewardship to a reluctant reliance

⁴⁰ Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society*, p. 189.

⁴¹ Williams, *Religious Belief and Popular Culture*, p. 162.

⁴² McLeod, *Class and Religion*, pp. 304-06.

⁴³ Glock and Stark, *Religion and Society*, p. 69.

⁴⁴ Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, p. 195.

⁴⁵ Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945* (1994, Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p. 93

upon secular forms of fundraising, corresponds with that covered by Dominic Erdozain's research on the growth of leisure services provided by churches. He places secularisation at the end of the nineteenth century 'when Evangelical social morality dissolved'.⁴⁶ It also corresponds with McLeod's research on religion and class in London. He argues that: 'around 1880 is a significant turning-point in the history of middle- and upper-class attitudes, because it is about then that the "Victorian" façade of religious consensus began to crumble.'⁴⁷

This thesis has argued that the new generations of Christians growing up after the 1870s did not have a close financially supportive relationship with the Church of the England. Johnston, a committee member of the Central Board of Finance, has argued that it did not re-establish such a relationship until the 1950s, a century after the first successful stewardship impulse.⁴⁸ Research in America has argued that the promotion of stewardship results in higher levels of contributions to the Church. In particular, the research has also shown that the teaching in stewardship needs to be periodically repeated otherwise its import will be forgotten.⁴⁹ This was also the view of *The Benefactor*, the magazine of the SBS, which in 1869 said: 'The habit of giving has to be acquired, like other habits, by repetition and rule.'⁵⁰ In 1906, Lansdell campaigned for a new stewardship campaign to reinvigorate giving: 'In other words, I suppose we want some present-day Apostle of tithe-paying to stir up the Church and country, as did Dr Cather and the Systematic Beneficence Society forty years ago.'⁵¹ Unfortunately for the Church of England, this campaign failed to galvanise a new generation of the Anglican laity to

⁴⁶ Erdozain, *Problem of Pleasure*, p. 6.

⁴⁷ McLeod, *Class and Religion*, p. xi.

⁴⁸ Johnstone, *Stewardship and the Gospel*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ See David G. Dawson, 'Funding Mission in the Early Twentieth Century', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (October 2000), pp. 155-56. For examples in late twentieth century America see: Sharon L. Miller, 'The Meaning of Religious Giving', in Mark Chaves and Sharon L. Miller (eds), *Financing American Religion* (1999, New York; Plymouth, Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), pp. 37-45. For a review of stewardship in America in the first four decades of the twentieth century see: Lankford, 'Protestant Stewardship and Benevolence, 1900-1941'.

⁵⁰ *The Benefactor*, Vol. 1, No. 19, 29 September 1869, p. 308.

⁵¹ Lansdell, *Sacred Tenth*, Vol. 2, p. 637.

respond with great generosity in order to fulfil its financial obligations. Writing in the 1990s, the Central Board of Finance's booklet, *Receiving and Giving: The Basis, Issues and Implications of Christian Stewardship* commented that it 'has been said that the Church of England has not so much a problem of finance as a problem of giving'.⁵² This 'problem of giving' was a problem that the Church created for itself through its lack of a consistent ongoing education in stewardship. The Church, therefore, accelerated its own decline by failing to establish in its laity strong and lasting foundations of financial obligation.

⁵² Church of England Central Board of Finance, *Receiving and Giving: The Basis, Issues and Implications of Christian Stewardship* (London, General Synod of the Church of England, 1990), p. 16.

APPENDIX

SECTION 1 – FUNDING STREAM ANALYSIS¹

Table 1.1 - BLF Funding Stream Analysis

Year	Subscriptions & Donations	Interest	Legacy Income	Church Collections	Total Income
1863/64	£90,043	£1,198	-	£9,216	£ 100,457
1865	£41,476	£2,806	-	£3,967	£ 48,249
1866	£32,102	£2,749	£ 10	£6,229	£ 41,090
1870	£28,140	£1,040	£ 90	£7,011	£ 36,281
1872	£23,959	£1,016	£ 20	£6,040	£ 31,035
1873	£29,923	£ 919	-	£7,133	£ 37,975
1876	£15,710	£1,499	£ 4,806	£6,540	£ 28,555
1878	£14,174	£ 821	£ 300	£5,721	£ 21,016
1879	£11,362	£ 923	£ 2,200	£5,579	£ 20,064
1884	£12,315	£ 811	£ 2,022	£4,767	£ 19,915
1895	£12,224	£1,484	£ 655	£6,329	£ 20,692
1896	£12,405	£1,475	£ 2,388	£6,609	£ 22,877
1897	£12,091	£1,460	£ 2,553	£6,793	£ 22,897
1904	£14,387	£1,876	£ 1,472	£7,814	£ 25,549
1905	£18,512	£1,778	£ 3,443	£8,089	£ 31,822
1906	£18,339	£1,971	£24,493	£8,423	£ 53,226
1908	£17,386	£2,386	£ 2,685	£7,152	£ 29,609
1912	£20,768	£3,546	£ 4,770	£6,539	£ 35,623

Sources and notes: This table shows the information for all available years. Figures for 1904, 1905, 1906 and 1908 have been extracted from the *London Diocesan Magazine*. All other figures are taken from BLF Annual Reports.

¹ The 'receipts' in these tables do not include items that were not newly raised income for that year. For example, loans, petty cash and sale of stocks are not included. The funding stream categories differ from table to table according to how the societies reported their finances. This means that in some instances church collection income is combined with subscription and donation income. In some tables it has been necessary for practical reasons to abbreviate the headings: 'Ch Colls' is 'Church Collections'; 'DBF Grant' is a Diocesan Board of Finance Grant (see Chapter 7); 'Int' is 'Interest'; 'Metn Assoc' is Metropolitan Associations; 'Prov Assocs' is 'Provincial Associations'; 'Misc' is 'Miscellaneous'; and 'Subs & Dons' is 'Subscriptions and Donations'.

Table 1.2 - ELCF Funding Stream Analysis

Year	Subs & Dons	Subs & Dons & Church Colls	Church Colls	Church Colls & Local Assocs	Int	Legacy Income	Misc	DBF Grant	Total Income
1880-81	-	£11,408	-	-	£119	-	-	-	£11,527
1885	-	£ 9,222	-	-	£ 79	-	-	-	£ 9,301
1887	£ 9,950	-	£2,706	-	£ 40	-	-	-	£12,696
1890	£10,135	-	£7,681	-	£510	£ 11	-	-	£18,337
1892	£ 7,857	-	£6,597	-	£224	£ 120	-	-	£14,798
1894	£10,978	-	£6,824	-	£131	£ 850	-	-	£18,783
1899	£11,055	-	-	£ 8,720	£246	£ 762	-	-	£20,783
1902	£ 8,496	-	-	£ 9,944	£302	£1,189	-	-	£19,931
1905	£ 8,933	-	-	£10,104	£325	£1,336	-	-	£20,698
1907	£ 8,467	-	-	£ 9,579	£424	£1,934	-	-	£20,404
1910	£ 9,632	-	-	£ 9,462	£824	£1,537	-	-	£21,455
1913	£ 6,588	-	-	£ 8,613	£821	£ 791	£40	-	£16,853
1914	£ 5,838	-	-	£ 5,469	£600	£ 978	£32	£4,500	£17,417

Sources and notes: All information is taken from ELCF Annual Reports. Only selected years (at regular intervals) have been chosen for this table. 'Misc' relates to the sale of the ELCF Kalendar (a calendar of daily quotations).

Table 1.3 - LDHM Funding Stream Analysis

Year	Subs & Dons	Interest	Legacy Income	Church Colls	Mission Payment	Grants: BLF & ELCF	Inland Revenue & Misc	Total Income
1857 -58	£1,716	-	-	-	-	-	-	£ 1,716
1860	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	£ 1,549
1864	£1,204	£ 49	£422	£672	£219	£1,000	£ 3	£ 3,569
1894	£ 287	£2,500	-	-	£255	£1,500	£ 65	£ 4,607
1897	£ 184	£2,675	-	-	£493	£1,500	£ 94	£ 4,946
1899	£ 190	£2,697	£ 45	-	£290	£1,700	£100	£ 5,022
1902	£ 690	£2,636	-	-	£179	£1,500	£164	£ 5,169
1904	£ 160	£2,622	-	£ 18	£240	£1,500	£127	£ 4,667
1907	£ 131	£2,686	-	-	£187	£1,500	£141	£ 4,645
1909	£ 137	£2,703	£ 50	£ 5	£322	£1,500	£142	£ 4,859
1912	£ 84	£2,886	-	£ 8	£439	£1,500	£172	£ 5,089
1914	£ 55	£3,115	-	-	£441	£1,500	£193	£ 5,304

Sources and notes: This table shows the information for all available years. Figures for 1858 to 1864 are taken from LDHM Annual Reports. The annual report for 1860 does not categorise the income. Figures for 1894 to 1914 are taken from the LDHM General Ledger: LMA Ms. DL/A/H/020/MS31994. The category 'Inland Revenue and Misc' relates to Tax refunds and an unspecified refund of £3 in 1864.

Table 1.4 - LDDI Funding Stream Analysis

Years	Subs & Dons	Interest	Legacy Income	Ch Colls	Sisters' Payment	Mission Payment	Misc	Total Income
1864-65	£705	-	-	-	£ 211	£ 57	£103	£1,076
1869-70	£750	-	-	-	£ 388	£ 56	£130	£1,324
1874-75	£913	-	-	-	£ 329	£137	£140	£1,519
1879-80	£663	£187	-	-	£ 327	£315	£104	£1,596
1884-85	£399	£186	£300	-	£ 340	£441	-	£1,666
1889-90	£298	£187	£274	£ 7	£ 545	£469	£186	£1,966
1894-95	£183	£185	-	-	£ 547	£679	£115	£1,709
1900	£139	£184	-	£23	£ 647	£560	-	£1,553
1905	£183	£282	-	£13	£ 846	£736	-	£2,060
1910	£105	£281	-	-	£1,085	£421	£16	£1,908
1914	£ 87	£221	-	-	£ 923	£516	£34	£1,781

Sources: Only selected years (at regular intervals) have been chosen for this table. All figures are taken from LDDI Annual Reports. The 'Misc' category includes: payments from patients; revenue from the school and the girls' industrial school; contributions from retreats and sales of works. Grants from the BLF are included in the 'Mission Payments' category.

Table 1.5 - PMWA Funding Stream Analysis

Year	Subs & Dons	Interest	Legacy Income	Ch Colls	Grants	Event Income	Inland Revenue	Total Income
1861-62	£ 599	£ 22	-	£38	-	-	-	£ 659
1865	£2,142	£ 28	£100	£21	£528	-	-	£2,819
1917-18	£1,545	£110	£200	-	£179	£337	£20	£2,391

Sources: This table shows the information for all available years. The 1861-62 figures come from: Caroline Jane Stuart Talbot, *Parochial Mission-Women; Their Work, and its Fruits* (London, 1862), p. 170. The other information comes from PMWA Annual Reports

SECTION 2 – SUBSCRIPTION LIST ANALYSIS²

Section 2.1 – Contributions analysed by Source Category and by Year

Table 2.11 BLF	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1863	382	78	0	25	24	2	511
1864	2087	906	29	271	86	13	3392
1865	1611	602	24	189	69	14	2509
1866	1570	604	25	191	50	12	2452
1867	1742	705	32	190	50	16	2735
1868	1716	730	29	195	43	22	2735
1869	1565	652	19	151	39	18	2444
1870	1538	647	20	149	41	12	2407
1871	1406	610	19	111	35	9	2190
1872	1467	627	19	100	34	11	2258
1873	1365	595	17	117	32	9	2135
1876	601	295	6	54	13	2	971
1878	505	248	4	45	9	1	812
1879	517	249	4	49	10	3	832
1884	424	204	6	47	11	6	698
1897	492	447	19	70	12	3	1043
1912	789	1725	34	145	10	9	2712
Total	19777	9924	306	2099	568	162	32836

² The data in these tables show the number of payments per year; these have been categorised by source. These categorisations are: male, female, both male and female (i.e. a married couple), anonymous, corporate bodies and groups. Companies (such as banks, solicitors, breweries) are classified as being corporate bodies. 'Groups' includes payments from groups of individuals and includes descriptions such as 'Mrs. Ley's children'.

Table 2.12 ELCF	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1881	147	81	4	40	8	1	281
1885	299	292	8	94	6	8	707
1890	776	1182	20	150	17	40	2185
1899	760	1329	11	163	29	65	2357
1902	790	1715	15	205	24	54	2803
1905	938	2527	32	325	21	88	3931
1910	723	2245	37	254	18	73	3350
1914	612	1985	32	168	13	54	2864
Total	5045	11356	159	1399	136	383	18478

Table 2.13 LDHM	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1858	119	28	1	9	1	0	158
1859	40	18	0	21	2	1	82
1861	231	84	2	51	4	5	377
1864	186	67	2	10	1	4	270
1893	49	37	1	1	1	1	90
1894	50	40	1	3	2	1	97
1895	40	25	1	2	1	2	71
1896	42	20	1	2	2	2	69
1897	34	20	1	1	1	2	59
1898	39	19	0	2	1	2	63
1899	35	18	0	0	2	2	57
1900	34	16	0	0	1	2	53
1901	32	15	0	0	1	2	50
1902	43	13	0	1	3	2	62
1903	37	13	0	1	1	2	54
1904	36	12	0	4	1	2	55
1905	38	10	0	2	1	2	53
1906	36	12	0	3	1	2	54
1907	32	10	0	2	1	2	47
1908	28	10	0	1	1	2	42
1909	28	9	1	2	1	2	43
1910	22	8	0	2	0	1	33
1911	25	8	0	2	0	2	37
1912	23	7	0	3	0	2	35
1913	22	5	0	3	0	2	32
1914	22	5	1	1	0	1	30
Total	1323	529	12	129	30	50	2073

Table 2.14 LDDI	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1862	61	115	0	18	0	0	194
1863	81	161	0	25	0	0	267
1864	104	142	1	14	0	0	261
1865	90	360	6	23	3	0	482
1866	88	399	8	22	1	1	519
1867	100	439	7	31	2	0	579
1869	96	361	11	23	2	1	494
1870	95	352	11	14	2	0	474
1871	95	359	9	14	2	2	481
1872	97	336	7	23	1	1	465
1873	124	352	8	36	1	2	523
1874	126	369	8	49	3	2	557
1875	107	366	7	29	2	2	513
1876	90	315	8	25	5	0	443
1877	100	345	7	28	4	0	484
1878	101	347	7	22	7	1	485
1879	94	334	6	19	3	2	458
1880	93	331	6	22	4	0	456
1882	87	278	5	13	3	0	386
1884	53	176	3	13	3	1	249
1886	49	175	1	6	1	0	232
1888	53	166	1	7	1	0	228
1890	36	132	3	6	1	0	178
1892	31	121	1	7	1	1	162
1894	22	114	2	2	1	1	142
1896	16	105	2	2	1	0	126
1898	10	85	1	2	1	0	99
1900	13	87	1	2	1	0	104
1902	9	86	1	4	1	0	101
1903	10	86	1	2	0	0	99
1904	12	95	1	8	0	0	116
1905	12	108	1	16	0	0	137
1906	11	93	1	2	0	0	107
1907	11	97	1	5	0	0	114
1908	11	96	1	4	0	0	112
1909	10	90	1	5	0	0	106
1910	9	90	0	2	0	0	101
1911	9	79	0	5	0	0	93
1912	10	80	0	4	0	0	94
1913	9	79	0	4	0	0	92
1914	5	78	0	5	0	0	88
Total	2240	8379	145	563	57	17	11401

Table 2.15 PMWA	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1861	83	287	10	28	0	0	408
1865	121	257	9	18	0	3	408
Total	204	544	19	46	0	3	816

Section 2.2 – Clergy/ Titled/ Commoner Analysis by Year³

Table 2.21 BLF	Titled	Clergy	Commoner	Total
1863	102	82	276	460
1864	326	245	2451	3022
1865	199	210	1828	2237
1866	200	225	1774	2199
1867	198	255	2026	2479
1868	209	250	2016	2475
1869	169	237	1830	2236
1870	168	236	1801	2205
1871	153	226	1656	2035
1872	153	221	1739	2113
1873	144	206	1627	1977
1876	79	113	710	902
1878	67	107	583	757
1879	64	115	591	770
1884	63	86	485	634
1897	93	97	768	958
1912	203	99	2246	2548
Total	2590	3010	24407	30007

³ These tales show the number of payments per year from individuals; these have been categorised by the form of address. This categorises all people as being either clergy (e.g., Reverend, Bishop), titled (e.g., Lady, Sir, Duke) or commoner (e.g., Esq, Miss). In the rare event that a clergyman was also a baronet, the individual has only been categorised as clergy. As for couples, if the husband was a clergyman, the couple have been categorised as 'Clergy'. This is a further analysis of the contributions categorised as 'Male', 'Female' and 'Both Male and Female'.

Table 2.22 ELCF	Titled	Clergy	Commoner	Total
1881	21	42	169	232
1885	30	87	482	599
1890	61	199	1718	1978
1899	94	219	1787	2100
1902	93	212	2215	2520
1905	111	261	3125	3497
1910	94	203	2708	3005
1914	85	171	2373	2629
Total	589	1394	14577	16560

Table 2.23 LDHM	Titled	Clergy	Commoner	Total
1858	17	50	81	148
1859	5	10	43	58
1861	31	82	204	317
1864	18	57	180	255
1893	9	11	67	87
1894	9	14	68	91
1895	8	10	48	66
1896	5	15	43	63
1897	6	12	37	55
1898	6	14	38	58
1899	7	13	33	53
1900	6	11	33	50
1901	6	12	29	47
1902	5	15	36	56
1903	6	11	33	50
1904	6	14	28	48
1905	7	13	28	48
1906	8	14	26	48
1907	8	11	23	42
1908	8	9	21	38
1909	8	8	22	38
1910	6	6	18	30
1911	8	6	19	33
1912	6	7	17	30
1913	6	7	14	27
1914	6	7	15	28
Total	221	439	1204	1864

Table 2.24 LDDI	Titled	Clergy	Commoner	Total
1862	5	18	153	176
1863	9	24	209	242
1864	9	28	210	247
1865	45	26	385	456
1866	39	21	435	495
1867	47	34	465	546
1869	41	32	395	468
1870	42	28	388	458
1871	38	30	395	463
1872	28	26	386	440
1873	28	29	427	484
1874	31	37	435	503
1875	34	26	420	480
1876	27	24	362	413
1877	28	28	396	452
1878	30	27	398	455
1879	27	29	378	434
1880	27	27	376	430
1882	19	27	324	370
1884	13	17	202	232
1886	14	13	198	225
1888	12	17	191	220
1890	10	15	146	171
1892	8	11	134	153
1894	7	8	123	138
1896	8	7	108	123
1898	7	3	86	96
1900	8	4	89	101
1902	6	5	85	96
1903	5	5	87	97
1904	5	6	97	108
1905	4	6	111	121
1906	3	5	97	105
1907	3	6	100	109
1908	3	6	99	108
1909	2	5	94	101
1910	2	4	93	99
1911	2	4	82	88
1912	2	4	84	90
1913	2	3	83	88
1914	2	2	79	83
Total	682	677	9405	10764

Table 2.25 PMWA	Titled	Clergy	Commoner	Total
1861	207	14	159	380
1865	134	57	196	387
Total	341	71	355	767

Section 2.3 – Contribution Band by Category⁴

Table 2.31 BLF	Male	Female	Both M&F	Anon	Corp Body	Group	Total
£100 plus	859	79	3	139	135	2	1217
£50 to under £100	603	121	5	56	69	2	856
£10 to under £50	4127	1094	71	380	179	17	5868
£2 to under £10	6602	3099	112	645	114	62	10634
£1 to under £2	5702	3076	80	355	57	43	9313
Under £1	1884	2455	35	524	14	36	4948
Total	19777	9924	306	2099	568	162	32836

Table 2.32 ELCF	Male	Female	Both M&F	Anon	Corp Body	Group	Total
£100 plus	52	49	1	55	21	0	178
£50 to under £100	46	41	0	44	14	2	147
£10 to under £50	400	396	11	183	41	20	1051
£2 to under £10	1442	2354	60	322	43	78	4299
£1 to under £2	1667	3390	45	244	10	73	5429
Under £1	1438	5126	42	551	7	210	7374
Total	5045	11356	159	1399	136	383	18478

Table 2.33 LDHM	Male	Female	Both M&F	Anon	Corp Body	Group	Total
£100 plus	5	0	0	10	4	0	19
£50 to under £100	23	2	2	5	1	4	37
£10 to under £50	151	40	0	18	20	21	250
£2 to under £10	437	224	5	67	3	17	753
£1 to under £2	679	213	4	12	2	8	918
Under under £1	28	50	1	17	0	0	96
Total	1323	529	12	129	30	50	2073

⁴ Each individual payment is classified by the size of the payment (the contribution band) and the source of the payment. For practical reasons, it has been necessary to abbreviate the headings in these tables: 'Anon' is 'Anonymous'; 'Both M&F' is 'Both Male & Female'; 'Corp Body' is 'Corporate Body'.

Table 2.34 LDDI	Male	Female	Both M&F	Anon	Corp Body	Group	Total
£100 plus	1	5	0	14	0	1	21
£50 to under £100	4	7	0	16	1	0	28
£10 to under £50	174	69	1	40	6	3	293
£2 to under £10	715	1275	48	105	30	1	2174
£1 to under £2	1039	3132	48	189	20	3	4431
Under £1	307	3891	48	199	0	9	4454
Total	2240	8379	145	563	57	17	11401

Table 2.35 PMWA	Male	Female	Both M&F	Anon	Corp Body	Group	Total
£100 plus	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
£50 to under £100	2	2	1	0	0	0	5
£10 to under £50	36	29	3	5	0	0	73
£2 to under £10	104	222	11	14	0	1	352
£1 to under £2	50	226	4	9	0	0	289
Under £1	11	65	0	18	0	0	94
Total	204	544	19	46	0	3	816

Section 2.4—Contribution Band by Year⁵

Table 2.41 BLF	Under £1	£1 to under £2	£2 to under £10	£10 to under £50	£50 to under £100	£100 plus	Total
1863	10	22	96	187	62	134	511
1864	339	648	1193	884	139	189	3392
1865	224	580	914	591	91	109	2509
1866	278	625	872	527	71	79	2452
1867	452	746	892	489	66	90	2735
1868	464	789	888	454	62	78	2735
1869	393	753	753	411	58	76	2444
1870	393	737	746	405	56	70	2407
1871	329	712	691	350	50	58	2190
1872	368	748	687	351	46	58	2258
1873	333	733	680	291	46	52	2135
1876	109	296	320	174	32	40	971
1878	77	247	272	163	15	38	812
1879	88	255	278	163	16	32	832
1884	52	219	258	117	20	32	698
1897	156	360	352	129	10	36	1043
1912	883	843	742	182	16	46	2712
Total	4948	9313	10634	5868	856	1217	32836

Table 2.42 ELCF	Under £1	£1 to under £2	£2 to under £10	£10 to under £50	£50 to under £100	£100 plus	Total
1881	20	41	100	69	22	29	281
1885	101	209	268	90	22	17	707
1890	819	616	556	152	23	19	2185
1899	828	718	616	149	22	24	2357
1902	1084	873	654	148	19	25	2803
1905	1764	1199	764	171	14	19	3931
1910	1488	941	716	155	16	34	3350
1914	1270	832	625	117	9	11	2864
Total	7374	5429	4299	1051	147	178	18478

⁵ These tables categorises each payment made in a particular year by the size of the payment (contribution band).

Table 2.43 LDHM	Under £1	£1 to under £2	£2 to under £10	£10 to under £50	£50 to under £100	£100 plus	Total
1858	3	41	63	40	6	5	158
1859	7	21	31	19	3	1	82
1861	14	94	149	90	20	10	377
1864	24	126	84	30	4	2	270
1893	3	48	34	4	1	0	90
1894	9	48	34	6	0	0	97
1895	2	39	24	5	1	0	71
1896	3	35	25	5	1	0	69
1897	1	30	24	4	0	0	59
1898	3	32	22	6	0	0	63
1899	2	29	22	4	0	0	57
1900	1	28	22	2	0	0	53
1901	1	26	21	2	0	0	50
1902	1	33	23	4	0	1	62
1903	2	31	18	3	0	0	54
1904	3	28	22	2	0	0	55
1905	3	29	19	2	0	0	53
1906	3	29	19	3	0	0	54
1907	2	25	17	3	0	0	47
1908	1	23	14	3	1	0	42
1909	2	23	15	3	0	0	43
1910	1	19	11	2	0	0	33
1911	1	23	10	3	0	0	37
1912	2	20	11	2	0	0	35
1913	1	18	11	2	0	0	32
1914	1	20	8	1	0	0	30
Total	96	918	753	250	37	19	2073

Table 2.44 LDDI	Under £1	£1 to under £2	£2 to under £10	£10 to under £50	£50 to under £100	£100 plus	Total
1862	42	74	56	21	1	0	194
1863	74	101	66	26	0	0	267
1864	82	108	63	8	0	0	261
1865	234	167	76	4	0	1	482
1866	260	173	71	15	0	0	519
1867	298	174	96	11	0	0	579
1869	219	173	89	11	1	1	494
1870	205	180	82	7	0	0	474
1871	198	177	94	11	1	0	481
1872	181	181	89	11	2	1	465
1873	181	198	116	19	3	6	523
1874	178	198	145	24	5	7	557
1875	176	210	108	18	0	1	513
1876	146	182	98	10	6	1	443
1877	158	211	99	11	3	2	484
1878	166	193	105	19	2	0	485
1879	150	209	86	11	2	0	458
1880	155	205	86	10	0	0	456
1882	128	175	78	5	0	0	386
1884	70	119	57	3	0	0	249
1886	68	103	56	5	0	0	232
1888	66	100	57	5	0	0	228
1890	50	82	44	2	0	0	178
1892	47	74	36	4	0	1	162
1894	49	60	32	1	0	0	142
1896	43	58	24	1	0	0	126
1898	36	39	23	1	0	0	99
1900	39	44	20	1	0	0	104
1902	42	38	18	2	1	0	101
1903	49	37	12	1	0	0	99
1904	58	41	15	2	0	0	116
1905	74	44	15	3	1	0	137
1906	63	33	10	1	0	0	107
1907	66	36	11	1	0	0	114
1908	69	34	8	1	0	0	112
1909	61	36	7	2	0	0	106
1910	59	36	5	1	0	0	101
1911	57	31	4	1	0	0	93
1912	54	35	4	1	0	0	94
1913	53	33	5	1	0	0	92
1914	50	29	8	1	0	0	88
Total	4454	4431	2174	293	28	21	11401

Table 2.45 PMWA	Under £1	£1 to under £2	£2 to under £10	£10 to under £50	£50 to under £100	£100 plus	Total
1861	59	138	182	26	3	0	408
1865	35	151	170	47	2	3	408
Total	94	289	352	73	5	3	816

Section 2.5 – Number of Large Contributions (£100 plus) per Year analysed by Supporter Category⁶

Table 2.51 BLF	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1863	106	6	0	6	15	1	134
1864	136	13	2	14	23	1	189
1865	75	5	0	12	17	0	109
1866	58	4	0	6	11	0	79
1867	58	7	1	14	10	0	90
1868	46	6	0	18	8	0	78
1869	54	5	0	10	7	0	76
1870	47	5	0	11	7	0	70
1871	47	3	0	3	5	0	58
1872	45	2	0	7	4	0	58
1873	37	3	0	9	3	0	52
1876	29	3	0	3	5	0	40
1878	28	1	0	5	4	0	38
1879	24	2	0	3	3	0	32
1884	23	3	0	3	3	0	32
1897	21	5	0	5	5	0	36
1912	25	6	0	10	5	0	46
Total	859	79	3	139	135	2	1217

⁶ These tables categorise payments in the contribution band '£100 plus' by the source of the payment. These figures are displayed by year.

Table 2.52 ELCF	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1881	14	5	0	5	5	0	29
1885	5	4	1	5	2	0	17
1890	5	4	0	9	1	0	19
1899	6	6	0	9	3	0	24
1902	7	7	0	8	3	0	25
1905	6	6	0	5	2	0	19
1910	8	11	0	11	4	0	34
1914	1	6	0	3	1	0	11
Total	52	49	1	55	21	0	178

Table 2.53 LDHM	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1858	1	0	0	3	1	0	5
1859	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
1861	3	0	0	5	2	0	10
1864	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
1902	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	5	0	0	10	4	0	19

Table 2.54 LDDI	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1865	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1869	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1872	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1873	0	2	0	4	0	0	6
1874	1	2	1	3	0	0	7
1875	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
1876	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1877	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
1892	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	1	5	1	14	0	0	21

Table 2.55 PMWA	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1865	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
Total	1	0	0	0	0	2	3

SECTION 3 –COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ALL SOCIETIES (INCLUDING LONDON CITY MISSION)

Table 3.1 Contribution Band Comparison⁷

Society	Under £1	£1 to under £2	£2 to under £10	£10 to under £50	£50 to under £100	£100 plus	Total
BLF	4948	9313	10634	5868	856	1217	32836
ELCF	7374	5429	4299	1051	147	178	18478
LDHM	96	918	753	250	37	19	2073
LDDI	4454	4431	2174	293	28	21	11401
PMWA	94	289	352	73	5	3	816
LCM	20726	11127	4949	1048	260	114	38224

Table 3.2 Analysis of the Contribution Band ‘£100 plus’ by Clergy/ Titled/ Commoner categorisation⁸

£100 plus	Titled	Clergy	Commoner	Anon	Corp Body	Group	Total
BLF	341	91	509	139	135	2	1217
ELCF	17	13	72	55	21	0	178
LDHM	2	2	1	10	4	0	19
LDDI	0	0	6	14	0	1	21
PMWA	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
LCM	7	2	68	34	2	1	114

⁷ This table categorises each individual payment to the society by the size of the payment. The LCM figures come from the annual reports for the years 1859-60, 1889-90 and 1913-14 (see tables in Section 6)

⁸ This table categorises each individual payments to the society in the contribution band ‘£100 plus’. These are then classified by source of payment.

SECTION 4 – TOP 20 FUNDERS FOR EACH ORGANISATION

Table 4.1 BLF

BLF	Name	Amount (accumulated figures)
1	Charles Morrison ⁹	£47,600
2	Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, 1 st Duke of Westminster ¹⁰	£35,050
3	The Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues	£25,000
4	William Henry Berkley Portman, 2 nd Viscount Portman ¹¹	£13,595
5	Samuel Jones-Loyd, 1 st Baron Overstone ¹²	£11,500
6	The Worshipful Company of Grocers	£10,965
7	William Russell, 8 th Duke of Bedford ¹³	£10,000
7	Dowager Lady Lucy Howard de Walden ¹⁴	£10,000
9	Charlotte Denison, Viscountess Ossington ¹⁵	£7,500
10	F.A.H ¹⁶	£7,000
=11	K.P.	£6,000
=11	Bishop John Jackson ¹⁷	£6,000
13	Anonymous for a free church and a free school	£5,000
=14	Bishop Arthur Winnington-Ingram ¹⁸	£4,800
=14	Archbishop Frederick Temple ¹⁹	£4,800
=14	Anne Turner ²⁰	£4,800
17	Cecil Henry Oliverson ²¹	£4,700
18	G.C.	£4,500
19	Francis Alexander Hamilton ²²	£4,300
=20	George Cubitt, 1 st Baron Ashcombe ²³	£4,200
=20	The Worshipful Company of Drapers	£4,200

Sources and notes: These figures are taken from the BLF Annual Report for 1912 which shows the accumulated total of money given as donations and subscriptions between 1863 and 1912. These amounts do not include legacies.

⁹ For information regarding Charles Morrison, see pp. 148-49

¹⁰ For information regarding Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, see pp. 92, 130, 148-49 and 181-82.

¹¹ For information regarding William Henry Berkley Portman, see pp. 123 and 147.

¹² For information regarding Samuel Jones-Loyd, see pp. 148-49 and 215.

¹³ William Russell, eighth Duke of Bedford (1809-1872).

¹⁴ Dowager Lady Lucy Howard de Walden (d.1899) was the widow of Charles Augustus Ellis, sixth Baron Howard de Walden and second Baron Seaford (1799-1868). Her sister was Charlotte Denison below.

¹⁵ For information regarding Charlotte Denison, see p. 152.

¹⁶ FAH is probably Francis Alexander Hamilton

¹⁷ Bishop John Jackson (1811-1885) was Bishop of London between 1869 and 1885.

¹⁸ Bishop Arthur Winnington-Ingram (1858-1946) was Bishop of London between 1901 and 1939.

¹⁹ Archbishop Frederick Temple (1821-1902) was Bishop of London between 1885 and 1896.

²⁰ Anne Turner (d. 1902), of Dingle Hall in Liverpool, was the widow of Charles Turner (1803-1875), a merchant and Conservative MP. A connection to London can be detected through the executor of her estate. Her executor was Charles Henry Turner (Bishop of Stepney), who was presumably a relation of her husband.

²¹ For information regarding Cecil Henry Oliverson, see p. 238.

²² For information regarding Francis Alexander Hamilton, see pp. 119-20, 149-50 and 216.

²³ George Cubitt, first Baron Ashcombe (1828-1917) was the son of a self made man. His father, Thomas Cubitt (1788-1855) was one of London's main builder developers.

Table 4.2 ELCF

ELCF	Name	Amount (accumulated figures)
1	Charles Morrison	£9,900
2	Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, 1 st Duke of Westminster	£6,000
=3	Worshipful Company of Grocers	£5,505
=3	A Friend	£5,000
5	Richard Foster ²⁴	£4,080
6	An East End Worker - A Thankoffering	£3,000
7	Gertrude Scholfield ²⁵	£2,600
8	William Henry Berkley Portman, 2 nd Viscount Portman	£2,400
9	Miss Monk ²⁶	£2,300
10	Caroline Amelia Newman – “In honoured memory of Reverend Frederick Newman” ²⁷	£2,100
=11	Bishop William Walsham How ²⁸	£2,000
=11	Anonymous	£2,000
=13	MSD	£1,700
=13	Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths	£1,700
=13	Bishop Arthur Winnington-Ingram	£1,700
16	Worshipful Company of Mercers	£1,680
17	Richard Fellowes Benyon ²⁹	£1,650
18	MHF	£1,450
19	Messrs Charrington Head & Co	£1,355
20	FAH ³⁰	£1,350

Sources and notes: The figures in this table are taken from a virtually complete set of ELCF annual reports covering the period 1880 to 1914. The figures, therefore, do not include income for all years.

²⁴ For information regarding Richard Foster, see pp. 123-24, 215, 230.

²⁵ Miss Gertrude Scholfield (d. 1925) lived in Mayfair and was one of the daughters of the wealthy Liverpool brewer William Scholfield (d. 1851).

²⁶ Miss Monk (d. 1917) was one of the daughters of the James Henry Monk (1784-1856), Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. The Monk sisters built a church in their father's memory: St. James the Less in Westminster consecrated in 1861. This Miss Monk was either Penelope Anna Monk (d. 1917) or Jane Emily Monk (d. 1917). Walsh, *Progress of the Church* (1887), p. 53.

²⁷ Caroline Amelia Newman (1840-1934), of Bournemouth, was the widow of a Wiltshire clergyman. In addition, both her brother and father were incumbents in Somerset. It is possible that Mrs Newman learnt of the ELCF on one of the Bishop's Bournemouth campaigns.

²⁸ Bishop William Walsham How (1823-1897) was Bishop of Bedford between 1879 and 1888.

²⁹ Richard Fellowes Benyon (1811-1897) was a Conservative MP for Berkshire. His wealth derived from an estate in Berkshire which he had inherited from his uncle. He was said to 'have built more churches than any other man of his day'. *ELCC*, Vol. 2, No. 1, October 1889, p. 6; *The Times*, 1 January 1898, p. 3; *The Times*, 2 August 1897, p. 4.

³⁰ FAH is probably Francis Alexander Hamilton.

Table 4.3 LDHM

LDHM	Name	Amount (accumulated figures)
1	Francis Alexander Hamilton Esq	£ 500
=2	Anonymous	£ 300
=2	Anonymous	£ 300
4	Worshipful Company of Leathersellers	£ 268
5	Archbishop Archibald Campbell Tait ³¹	£ 210
=6	Messrs Truman Hanbury Buxton & Co	£ 200
=6	DC	£ 200
=6	Anonymous	£ 200
=6	Messrs Hoare and Co	£ 200
10	Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, 1 st Duke of Westminster	£ 170
11	Abel Smith Esq MP ³²	£ 127
12	Jessie Margaret Richards ³³	£ 103
=13	A Lady (per the Reverend William Pitt Wigram)	£ 100
=13	RH	£ 100
=13	Anonymous	£ 100
=13	Anonymous	£ 100
=13	Anonymous	£ 100
=13	Anonymous	£ 100
=13	F Sargent Esq ³⁴	£ 100
=13	William Page Wood, 1 st Baron Hatherley ³⁵	£ 100
=13	William Bingham Baring, 2 nd Baron Ashburton ³⁶	£ 100
=13	William Pleydell-Bouverie, 3 rd Earl of Radnor ³⁷	£ 100

Sources and notes: The figures in this table are based on figures taken from the available LDHM Annual Reports and General Ledger and Cash Books for the period 1857 to 1914. The figures, therefore, do not include income for all years.

³¹ Archbishop Archibald Campbell Tait (1811-1882) was Bishop of London between 1856 and 1868.

³² Abel Smith (1829-1898), politician and JP, was the eldest son of the Evangelical banker and politician Abel Smith (1788-1859).

³³ Jessie Margaret Richards (1834-1919) was the wife of a London clergyman. Henry William Parry Richards (1827-1900) was appointed Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1885 and Rector of St-Giles-in-the-Fields in 1892. Their daughter was Miss Jessie Eleanor Richards, see p. 119.

³⁴ Unable to identify F. Sargent Esq

³⁵ For information regarding William Page Wood, see pp. 55 and 66.

³⁶ William Bingham Baring, second Baron Ashburton (1799-1864), an Evangelical. He was a member of the Baring banking dynasty.

³⁷ William Pleydell-Bouverie, third Earl of Radnor (1779-1869), an Evangelical.

Table 4.4 LDDI

LDDI	Name	Amount (accumulated figures)
1	Matilda Blanche Gibbs ³⁸	£5,000
2	William Gibbs Esq ³⁹	£2,490
3	A Friend	£1,400
4	Deaconess Elizabeth Catherine Ferard ⁴⁰	£1,057
5	Henry Warner Prescott Esq ⁴¹	£526
6	The Misses Doxat ⁴²	£514
=7	A Friend	£500
=7	A Friend	£500
9	Lord Josceline Percy ⁴³	£345
10	Joseph Sherwood Esq ⁴⁴	£202
11	The Worshipful Company of Salters	£173
12	Reverend Edward Hood Linzee ⁴⁵	£166
13	Lady Louisa Percy	£155
=14	AT	£150
=14	ZZ	£150
16	Elizabeth Von Mumm ⁴⁶	£145
17	The Misses Loveday ⁴⁷	£140
18	Reverend Edward Meyrick Goulburn ⁴⁸	£136
19	'A Lady gave all her jewels'	£110
20	Lavinia Godwin Doxat ⁴⁹	£101

Sources and notes: The figures in this table are based on a virtually complete set of LDDI Annual Reports for the period 1861 to 1914. The figures, therefore, do not include income for all years.

³⁸ Matilda Blanche Gibbs (1817-1887) was the wife of William Gibbs. This donation was to establish an endowment fund for the Chaplain of the LDDI.

³⁹ William Gibbs (1790-1875) was a High Churchman. He was sole partner in the family's firm which was the sole importer of guano to Britain. He was a strong supporter of the Oxford Movement, financing the building of several churches (including £30,000 for the building of Keble College, Oxford). Matthew Kilburn, 'Gibbs, William (1790-1875)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁰ For information regarding Elizabeth Catherine Ferard, see p. 69.

⁴¹ For information regarding Henry Warner Prescott, see pp. 123 and 239.

⁴² For information regarding the 'The Misses Doxat', see pp. 123, 165 and 167. In 1881 the sisters paid off the new Chapel debt of £121.

⁴³ Lord Josceline William Percy (1811-1881) was the Chairman of the LDDI committee from 1867 to 1872.

⁴⁴ Joseph Sherwood (1809-1888), a solicitor, was on the LDDI Committee in the 1880s.

⁴⁵ For information regarding Reverend Edward Hood Linzee, see p. 166.

⁴⁶ For information in relation to Elizabeth Von Mumm, see pp. 123 and 166.

⁴⁷ The Misses Loveday were LDDI associates.

⁴⁸ For information regarding Reverend Edward Meyrick Goulburn, see pp. 166 and 209

⁴⁹ For information on Lavinia Godwin Doxat, see pp. 123, 165 and 167.

Table 4.5 PMWA

PMWA	Name	Amount (accumulated figures)
1	Susannah Trevanion ⁵⁰	£1,000
2	Society for the Relief of Small Debtors	£895
3	Lady Lucy Cavendish ⁵¹	£700
4	Roundell Palmer, 1 st Earl Selborne ⁵²	£378
5	Ladies' Diocesan Association	£200
6	Miss Bampton ⁵³	More than £100
=7	Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, 1 st Duke of Westminster	£100
=7	Samuel Jones-Loyd, 1 st Baron Overstone	£100
=7	Miss Rawson ⁵⁴	£100
=7	HE	£100
=7	PH	£100
12	Worshipful Company of Mercers	£157
13	Worshipful Company of Fishmongers	£52
=14	Sir William Earle Welby-Gregory ⁵⁵	£50
=14	Lady Victoria Welby-Gregory	£50
=14	Lady Harriet Sarah Wantage ⁵⁶	£50
=17	Lady Harriet Duncombe ⁵⁷	£40
=17	William Gibbs	£40
19	Sir Edward Hulse ⁵⁸	£31

Sources and notes: The figures in this table are based on information from the 1861 and 1868 annual reports and entries made in the PMWA Minute Books 1862-1923 regarding large donations or subscriptions. The figures, therefore, do not include income for all years.

⁵⁰ Susannah Trevanion (1800-1886) was the elder sister of Angela Burdett Coutts.

⁵¹ For information regarding Lady Lucy Cavendish, see pp. 67, 73 and 165.

⁵² For information regarding Roundell Palmer, see pp. 67 and 186.

⁵³ Unable to identify Miss Bampton.

⁵⁴ Unable to identify Miss Rawson.

⁵⁵ For information regarding William Earle Welby-Gregory and Lady Victoria Welby-Gregory, see p. 165. Lady Welby-Gregory was the cousin of two of the PMWA founders: Lady Montagu of Beaulieu and Caroline Jane Talbot.

⁵⁶ Lady Harriet Sarah Wantage (1837-1920) was the daughter of Baron Overstone.

⁵⁷ Lady Harriet Duncombe (1809-1902) was the wife of Reverend Augustus Duncombe (1814-1880), Dean of York.

⁵⁸ Sir Edward Hulse (1809-99) was the fifth baronet, his family seat was in Breamore Hampshire.

Section 5 – BEQUEST ANALYSIS (1860 - 1914)

Table 5.1 Bequest Analysis by Gender for Each Organisation

Gender & Total Amount	Female	Male	Unknown	Total
BLF	£76,859 (84 legacies)	£142,329 (87 legacies)	£10 (1 legacy)	£219,198 (172 legacies)
ELCF	£32,883 (54 legacies)	£26,817 (20 legacies)	(0)	£59,700 (74 legacies)
LDHM	£113,700 (11 legacies)	£2,604 (6 legacies)	(0)	£116,304 (17 legacies)
LDDI	£2,633 (12 legacies)	£500 (1 legacy)	(0)	£3,133 (13 legacies)
PMWA	£1,780 (17 legacies)	£45 (1 legacy)	(0)	£1,825 (18 legacies)
LCM	£447,653 (1396 legacies)	£260,056 (674 legacies)	£2,423 (14 legacies)	£710,132 (2084 legacies)

Sources: Annual Reports and Minute Books

Table 5.2 Bequest Analysis by Size of Bequest for Each Organisation

Size of Bequest	Not known	Under £50	£50 to £99	£100 to £499	£500 to £999	£1000 to £9999	£10,000 to £99,999	£100,000 plus	Total
BLF	1	19	22	55	31	39	5	0	172
ELCF	1	12	13	25	6	15	2	0	74
LDHM	0	2	4	6	3	1	0	1	17
LDDI	0	1	1	10	1	0	0	0	13
PMWA	0	5	1	11	1	0	0	0	18
LCM	0	673	387	716	149	152	7	0	2084

Sources: Annual Reports and Minute Books

Table 5.3 Bequest Analysis by Size of Bequest and Gender. Combined for BLF, ELCF, LDHM, LDDI and PMWA

Bequest Band	Female	Male	Anonymous	Total
£100,000 plus	1	0	0	1
£10,000 to £99,999	0	7	0	7
£1,000 to £9,999	32	18	1	51
£500 to £999	27	16	0	43
£100 to £499	61	45	1	107
Under £100	55	28	1	84
Unknown	0	1	0	1
Total	176	115	3	294

Sources: Annual Reports and Minute Books

Table 5.4 Bequest Analysis by Probate Estate Size for Each Organisation

	Unable to trace	Under £1,000	£1,000 to £4,999	£5,000 to £9,999	£10,000 to £49,999	£50,000 to £99,999	£100,000 to £999,999	£1m plus	Total
BLF	17	5	12	16	61	24	34	3	172
ELCF	18	4	7	8	21	5	8	3	74
LDHM	1	2	4	2	2	2	4	0	17
LDDI	2	3	0	3	3	0	2	0	13
PMWA	14	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	18

Sources: Annual Reports and Minute Books

Table 5.5 Bequest Analysis by Decade for Each Organisation

	Unable to trace	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910 to 1914	Total
BLF	£5,035 (8)	£10,271 (14)	£47,154 (21)	£25,670 (24)	£26,464 (38)	£67,578 (47)	£37,026 (20)	£219,198 (172)
ELCF	(0)	(0)	(0)	£280 (2)	£8,908 (19)	£28,767 (33)	£21,745 (20)	£59,700 (74)
LDHM	(0)	£522 (1)	£1,616 (3)	£111,905 (3)	£1,993 (6)	£268 (4)	(0)	£116,304 (17)
LDDI	(0)	(0)	£1,039 (4)	£870 (4)	£274 (2)	£150 (1)	£800 (2)	£3,133 (13)
PMWA	(0)	£100 (1)	£935 (7)	£490 (7)	(0)	£200 (2)	£100 (1)	£1,825 (18)
LCM	(0)	£49,523 (233)	£83,236 (303)	£141,425 (434)	£123,227 (440)	£233,205 (449)	£79,516 (225)	£710,132 (2084)

Sources: Annual Reports and Minute Books. This table only shows LCM bequests for the period 1860 to 1914.

Section 5.6 Top 10 Bequests made to each organisation

Table 5.61 BLF	Name	Year of Bequest	Amount of Bequest
1	Joshua Lockwood Esq ⁵⁹	1907	£ 21,989
2	Edward Arnold ⁶⁰	1911	£ 17,500
3=	Charles Morrison Esq	1909	£ 10,000
3=	John Brenchley Esq ⁶¹	1870	£ 10,000
3=	Reverend John Henry Ellis ⁶²	1912	£ 10,000
6	Reverend William Peace ⁶³	1908	£ 8,087
7	Miss M.S. Haynes ⁶⁴	1894	£ 7,571
8	Reverend John Back ⁶⁵	1891	£ 7,087
9	Mrs Mary Ellis ⁶⁶	1887	£ 5,142
10=	George Moore ⁶⁷	1876	£ 5,000
10=	Charlotte Denison, Viscountess Ossington	1889	£ 5,000

Sources: BLF Annual Reports and *London Diocesan Magazine*.

⁵⁹ Joshua Lockwood (died in 1872) lived in Southampton. His estate was valued at under £70,000.

⁶⁰ Edward Arnold (died in 1911), wine merchant, lived in Dorking. His estate was valued at £163,911.

⁶¹ John Brenchley (died in 1870) lived in Maidstone. His estate was valued at under £120,000.

⁶² For information regarding Reverend John Henry Ellis, see p. 153

⁶³ Reverend William Peace (died in 1908) lived in Brighton. His estate was valued at £57,607.

⁶⁴ Unable to trace Miss M.S. Haynes.

⁶⁵ Reverend John Back (died in 1891) had been the Rector of St George the Martyr in Holborn. His estate was valued at under £52,800.

⁶⁶ Mrs Mary Ellis (died in 1887) was a widow and lived in London. Her estate was valued at under £88,644.

⁶⁷ For information regarding George Moore, see pp. 93, 154, 186, 188-90, 204-05 and 215.

Table 5.62 ELCF	Name	Year of Bequest	Amount of Bequest
=1	Charles Morrison Esq	1909	£ 10,000
=1	Reverend John Henry Ellis	1912	£ 10,000
3	Miss Annie Amelia Jeaffreson ⁶⁸	1910	£ 7,000
4	Anonymous (Miss Marian Charrington) ⁶⁹	1907	£ 3,000
5	Miss E.A. Gray ⁷⁰	1899	£ 2,871
6	Reverend Robert George Swayne ⁷¹	1901	£ 2,533
7	Mrs Agatha Gresham Wells ⁷²	1903	£ 2,500
=8	Francis Libress Brine Esq ⁷³	1897	£ 2,000
=8	Miss Mary Doxat ⁷⁴	1904	£ 2,000
=8	George John Fenwick ⁷⁵	1913	£ 2,000

Sources: ELCF Annual Reports and *London Diocesan Magazine*.

⁶⁸ Miss Annie Amelia Jeaffreson (1856-1910), the daughter of a surgeon, left the ELCF a bequest of £7,000 from her £13,838 estate. Miss Jeaffreson was the Secretary of the Twenty Minutes' Work Society. The society took its name from the fact that members were expected to do twenty minutes work each day in aid of East London. *ELCC*, Vol. 22, No. 3, October 1910, pp. 15-16; and Vol. 14, No. 1, Lady Day 1902, p. 13.

⁶⁹ For information regarding Miss Marian Charrington, see pp. 153 and 191-93. Her estate was valued at £52,093.

⁷⁰ Unable to trace Miss E.A. Gray

⁷¹ Reverend Robert George Swayne (died 1901) was Prebendary of Slape in Sarum Cathedral. He lived in Bournemouth. His estate was valued at £30,503.

⁷² Mrs Agatha Gresham Wells (died in 1903) lived in Torquay. Her estate was valued at £4,965.

⁷³ Francis Libress Brine (died in 1897) lived in Essex. His estate was valued at £5,815.

⁷⁴ For information regarding Miss Mary Doxat, see pp. 123, 165 and 167.

⁷⁵ For information regarding George Fenwick, see pp. 153-54.

Table 5.63 LDHM	Name	Year of Bequest	Amount of Bequest
1	Miss Maria Mary Fussell ⁷⁶	1882	£111,805
2	George Moore Esq	1876	£ 2,000
3	Mrs Anna Ardlie Salisbury ⁷⁷	1892	£ 833
=4	George Churchill Esq ⁷⁸	1890	£ 500
=4	Alexander Davidson Esq ⁷⁹	1890	£ 500
6	Miss Harriet Hurst ⁸⁰	1878	£ 484
7	Richard Emerson Esq ⁸¹	1864	£ 422
8	Joseph Headland Esq ⁸²	1907	£ 149
9	Maurice Bernays Esq ⁸³	1877	£ 132
=10	Miss Marian Sarah Jackson ⁸⁴	1900	£ 100
=10	Miss Mary Frances Woodburn ⁸⁵	1865	£ 100

Sources: LDHM Annual Reports, *London Diocesan Magazine* and Minute Books.

⁷⁶ For information regarding Maria Mary Fussell, see pp. 140–41, 151, 154, 199 and 204.

⁷⁷ Mrs Anna Ardlie Salisbury (died in 1891) was a widow and lived in Brighton. Her estate was valued at £24,738.

⁷⁸ George Churchill (died in 1889) lived in Dorset. His estate was valued at £114,314.

⁷⁹ Alexander Davidson (died in 1889) lived in London. His estate was valued at £12,304.

⁸⁰ Miss Harriet Hurst (died in 1889) lived in London. Her estate was valued at under £140,000.

⁸¹ Richard Emerson (died in 1863) lived in London. His estate was valued at under £4,000.

⁸² Joseph Headland (died in 1907) lived in Lincolnshire. His estate was valued at £189.

⁸³ For information regarding Maurice Bernays, see p. 154.

⁸⁴ Miss Marian Sarah Jackson (died in 1900) lived in Kent. Her estate was valued at £8,633.

⁸⁵ Miss Mary Frances Woodburn (died in 1865) lived in London. Her estate was valued at under £90,000.

Table 5.64 LDDI	Name	Year of Bequest	Amount of Bequest
1	Marian Christiana Heale ⁸⁶	1910	£500
2	Constance Rose Bradford ⁸⁷	1876	£450
=3	Mary Lake ⁸⁸	1885	£300
=3	Joseph Sherwood ⁸⁹	1888	£300
=3	Eleanor Crawford Rees ⁹⁰	1913	£300
6	Anne Jane Woodall Field ⁹¹	1890	£274
7	Jane Harriet Doxat ⁹²	1879	£270
8	Hannah Brackenbury ⁹³	1875	£200
9	Eliza Mary Hankin ⁹⁴	1909	£150
10	Mary Elizabeth Overton Field ⁹⁵	1878	£119

Sources: LDDI Annual Reports and *Ancilla Domini*.

⁸⁶ Miss Marian Christiana Heale (died in 1910) was a deaconess.

⁸⁷ Miss Constance Rose Bradford (died in 1876) lived in London.

⁸⁸ Unable to trace Miss Mary Lake.

⁸⁹ Joseph Sherwood (1809 – 1888), a solicitor was a LDDI committee member. His estate was valued at £112,809.

⁹⁰ Miss Eleanor Crawford Rees (died in 1913) was a deaconess.

⁹¹ Miss Anne Jane Woodall Field (died in 1889) was a deaconess.

⁹² For information regarding Jane Harriet Doxat, see pp. 123, 165 and 167.

⁹³ Miss Hannah Brackenbury (died in 1873) lived in Hove. Her estate was valued at under £160,000.

⁹⁴ Miss Eliza Mary Hankin (died in 1908) was a deaconess.

⁹⁵ Miss Mary Elizabeth Overton Field (died in 1878) was a deaconess and Head Sister of the LDDI.

Table 5.65 PMWA	Name	Year of Bequest	Amount of Bequest
1	Lady Charlotte Hatherley ⁹⁶	1879	£500
2	Lady H Cox ⁹⁷	1906	£200
3	Lady Anne Manningham-Buller ⁹⁸	1876	£155
=4	Adele Eleonere d'Henin ⁹⁹	1885	£100
=4	Anne Helen Erskine ¹⁰⁰	1887	£100
=4	Miss Larcom ¹⁰¹	1885	£100
=4	William Marshall Esq ¹⁰²	1882	£100
=4	Laura Oldfield ¹⁰³	1876	£100
=4	Mrs E Palmer ¹⁰⁴	1874	£100
=4	Miss Roper ¹⁰⁵	1911	£100
=4	Isabella Thompson ¹⁰⁶	1906	£100

Sources: PMWA Minute Books.

⁹⁶ For information regarding Lady Charlotte Hatherley, see pp. 66 and 167.

⁹⁷ Unable to trace Lady H Cox.

⁹⁸ Lady Anne Manningham-Buller (1845-1876) was the wife of Edmund Manningham-Buller (1828-1897), Major-General in the army; she was also the daughter of Thomas Coke, second Earl of Leicester (1822-1909).

⁹⁹ Miss Adele Eleonere d'Henin (died in 1885) lived in London. Her estate was valued at £22,717.

¹⁰⁰ Miss Anne Helen Erskine (died in 1887) lived in London and Bournemouth. Her estate was valued at £29,099.

¹⁰¹ Unable to trace Miss Larcom.

¹⁰² Unable to trace William Marshall. He lived in Plymouth.

¹⁰³ For information regarding Laura Oldfield, see p. 167.

¹⁰⁴ Unable to trace Mrs E Palmer.

¹⁰⁵ Unable to trace Miss Roper.

¹⁰⁶ Unable to trace Miss Isabella Thompson.

Section 6 – LONDON CITY MISSION (LCM) COMPARATIVE DATA¹⁰⁷

Table 6.1 – Funding Stream Analysis for LCM

LCM	Dons, Subs, Local Assoc & Int	Subs & Dons	Metn Assocs	Prov Assocs	Legacy Income	Int	Misc	Total Income
1860 -61	£32,325	-	-	-	£ 2,692	-	£ 76	£35,093
1865 -66	£33,390	-	-	-	£ 2,027	-	£ 43	£35,460
1870 -71	£32,891	-	-	-	£ 3,693	-	£ 32	£36,616
1875 -76	-	£11,818	£23,963	£6,221	£ 8,519	-	£ 26	£50,547
1879 -80	-	£10,893	£23,437	£5,701	£ 6,684	£ 159	£116	£46,990
1885 -86	-	£11,025	£25,859	£5,888	£15,058	£ 12	£ 45	£57,887
1890 -91	-	£10,319	£24,636	£5,745	£14,269	£2,054	£105	£57,128
1895 -96	-	£10,720	£22,622	£6,047	£14,373	£1,441	£ 52	£55,255
1900 -01	-	£10,265	£23,844	£6,967	£23,022	£1,708	£ 17	£65,823
1905 -06	-	£14,141	£21,323	£6,231	£ 9,481	£1,444	£ 11	£52,631
1910 -11	-	£ 6,826	£20,771	£5,999	£16,307	£1,615	£727	£52,245
1913 /14	-	£10,163	£20,714	£6,130	£15,258	£1,250	£592	£54,107

Sources and notes: All figures are taken from LCM Annual Reports. Only selected years (at regular intervals) have been chosen for this table. Miscellaneous includes rent, sale of magazines and sale of books.

¹⁰⁷ The tables in this section mirror in form the tables in previous sections for the Anglican organisations.

Table 6.2 – Contributions analysed by Source Category and by Year

LCM	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1859/60	6366	6814	193	719	174	238	14504
1889/90	4600	7253	255	486	242	111	12947
1913/14	3409	5988	372	659	193	152	10773
Total	14375	20055	820	1864	609	501	38224

Sources: LCM Annual Reports.

Table 6.3 – Clergy/ Titled/ Commoner Analysis by Year

LCM	Titled	Clergy	Commoner	Total
1859/60	250	638	12485	13373
1889/90	207	510	11391	12108
1913/14	162	292	9315	9769
Total	619	1440	33191	35250

Table 6.4 – Contribution Band by Category

LCM	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anon	Corporate Body	Group	Total
Over £100	54	23	0	34	2	1	114
£50 to under £100	97	73	2	65	11	12	260
£10 to under £50	514	244	16	176	64	34	1048
£2 to under £10	2150	1983	169	365	192	90	4949
£1 to under £2	4991	5207	242	407	192	88	11127
Under £1	6569	12525	391	817	148	276	20726
Total	14375	20055	820	1864	609	501	38224

Table 6.5 –Contribution Band by Year

LCM	Under £1	£1 to under £2	£2 to under £10	£10 to under £50	£50 to under £100	Over £100	Total
1859/60	7591	4736	1681	405	65	26	14504
1889/90	6886	3801	1783	338	95	44	12947
1913/14	6249	2590	1485	305	100	44	10773
Total	20726	11127	4949	1048	260	114	38224

Table 6.6 - Number of Large Contributions (£100 plus) per year analysed by Supporter Category

LCM	Male	Female	Both Male & Female	Anonymous	Corporate Body	Group	Total
1859	15	4	0	6	1	0	26
1889	21	10	0	12	1	0	44
1913	18	9	0	16	0	1	44
Total	54	23	0	34	2	1	114

Table 6.7 – Top 20 Funders for LCM

LCM	Name	Amount
1	Joseph Gurney Barclay Esq ¹⁰⁸	£ 24,966
2	Robert Cooper Lee Bevan Esq ¹⁰⁹	£ 24,182
3	"FAITH"	£ 15,000
4	Thomas Fowell Buxton (4th Baronet) ¹¹⁰	£ 14,040
5	Francis Augustus Bevan Esq ¹¹¹	£ 13,015
6	Sir George Williams ¹¹²	£ 8,926
7	Sir Edward North Buxton (2nd Baronet) ¹¹³	£ 8,531
8	John William Berry Esq ¹¹⁴	£ 8,039
9	Messrs Truman Hanbury & Buxton	£ 7,079
10	Joseph Hoare Esq ¹¹⁵	£ 5,803
11	Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton (3rd Baronet) ¹¹⁶	£ 5,665
12	Francis Alexander Hamilton Esq	£ 5,638
13	Sir Harry James Veitch ¹¹⁷	£ 5,374
14	William Cooke Esq ¹¹⁸	£ 5,045
15	T.E.E.	£ 4,984
16	Mrs Lawton ¹¹⁹	£ 4,800
17	William Ellice Esq & Lady Jane Ellice ¹²⁰	£ 4,763
18	Miss Sophia Portal ¹²¹	£ 4,720
19	Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, 1 st Duke of Westminster	£ 4,500
20	John Marnham Esq ¹²²	£ 4,072

Sources: LCM Annual Reports for the period 1859/60 to 1913/14.

¹⁰⁸ Joseph Gurney Barclay (1816-1898), a Quaker. *Financial Times*, 2 May 1898, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ For information regarding Robert Cooper Lee Bevan, see p. 216.

¹¹⁰ For information regarding Thomas Fowell Buxton, 4th baronet, see p. 192.

¹¹¹ Francis Augustus Bevan (1840-1919), banker, was the son of Robert Cooper Lee Bevan. See also p. 238.

¹¹² Sir George Williams (1821-1905) founder of the YMCA, whose fortune came from textiles.

¹¹³ For information regarding Edward North Buxton, 2nd baronet, see p. 192.

¹¹⁴ John William Berry, a solicitor.

¹¹⁵ Joseph Hoare was probably one of the Hoare bankers.

¹¹⁶ For information regarding Thomas Fowell Buxton, 3rd baronet, see p. 192.

¹¹⁷ Sir Harry James Veitch (1840-1924), a horticulturist.

¹¹⁸ William Cooke, a warehouseman.

¹¹⁹ Unable to trace Mrs Lawton.

¹²⁰ William Ellice (1817-1892), a merchant and Lady Jane Ellice (1819-1903), daughter of the third Earl of Radnor.

¹²¹ Miss Sophia Portal (1790-1875) was the daughter of William Portal (1755-1846), landowner in Hampshire.

¹²² John Marnham (1826-1903), a Stock Exchange member, was a Baptist.

Table 6.8 Top 10 Bequests made to the LCM

LCM	Name	Year of Bequest	Amt of Bequest
1	Miss Laura Gowland ¹²³	1900	£ 40,215
2	Miss Mary Tanner ¹²⁴	1887	£ 13,662
3	Reverend James Spurrell ¹²⁵	1893	£ 11,373
4	Mrs Sarah Hancock ¹²⁶	1912	£ 11,078
=5	Thomas Kincaid Hardie ¹²⁷	1902	£ 10,000
=5	Mrs Emily Leifchild ¹²⁸	1901	£ 10,000
=5	Douglas Henty ¹²⁹	1893	£ 10,000
8	George Brightwen ¹³⁰	1907	£ 9,090
9	Mrs Harriet Sophia Shaw-Hellier ¹³¹	1909	£ 9,037
10	William Dollin Alexander ¹³²	1888	£ 9,000

Sources: LCM Annual Reports. Only bequests for the period 1860 to 1914 analysed.

¹²³ Miss Laura Gowland lived in Caen, France.

¹²⁴ Miss Mary Tanner (died in 1886) lived in Devon. Her estate was valued at £8,151.

¹²⁵ Reverend James Spurrell (died in 1892) lived in Brighton. His estate was valued at £581,742.

¹²⁶ Mrs Sarah Hancock (died in 1910) was a widow and lived in London. Her estate was valued at £280,379.

¹²⁷ Thomas Kincaid Hardie (died in 1901) lived in London. His estate was valued at £110,675.

¹²⁸ Mrs Emily Leifchild (died in 1900) was a widow and lived in Kensington. Her husband was John Roby Leifchild (died in 1889), an annuitant. Her estate was valued at £18,918.

¹²⁹ Douglas Henty (died in 1892) was a brewer and lived in Chichester. His estate was valued at £147,896.

¹³⁰ Unable to trace George Brightwen.

¹³¹ Mrs Harriet Sophia Shaw-Hellier (died in 1907) was the wife of Thomas Bradney Shaw-Hellier, a Colonel in the army. They lived in Tunbridge Wells. Her estate was valued at £75,831.

¹³² William Dollin Alexander (died in 1887) was a JP and lived in London. His estate was valued at £381,675

6.9 - LCM Top 20 Corporate Funders

LCM	Amount	Name	Type
1	£ 7,079	Messrs Truman Hanbury Buxton & Co	Brewer
2	£ 2,623	Messrs ED & F Man	Commodities trader (sugar, coffee etc)
3	£ 2,456	Messrs Wells & Perry	Brewer
4	£ 2,078	Messrs Wimbush & Co	Job Master (supplier of coaches, horses and drivers)
5	£ 1,500	Corporation of the City of London	Local Government
6	£ 1,420	Messrs Peek Frean & Co	Biscuit maker
7	£ 1,250	Messrs Copestake Crampton & Co	Textile wholesaler
8	£ 1,196	Messrs Swan and Edgar	Department Store
9	£ 1,080	Messrs Trotter	Engineers
10	£ 1,050	Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths	Livery
11	£ 777	Messrs Stone and Kemp	Silk manufacturer
12	£ 741	Worshipful Company of Leathersellers	Livery
13	£ 670	Price's Patent Candle Co	Candle Maker
14	£ 644	Messrs Matheson & Co	Merchant Bank
15	£ 629	Worshipful Company of Salters	Livery
16	£ 601	Messrs Hayward-Tyler & Co Ltd	Hydraulic engineer
17	£ 600	Worshipful Company of Clothworkers	Livery
18	£ 578	Messrs Dent Allcroft & Co	Glove maker
19	£ 510	Worshipful Company of Mercers	Livery
20	£ 494	Messrs WH Smith & Son	Stationer

Sources and notes: LCM Annual reports for the period 1859/60 to 1913/14. Only Top 20 funders listed.

Section 7 – CORPORATE BODIES AS SUBSCRIBERS

Section 7.1 Top 20 Corporate Funders

Table 7.11 BLF	Amount	Name	Type
1	£ 25,000	The Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues	State Department
2	£ 10,955	The Worshipful Company of Grocers	Livery Company
3	£ 4,200	The Worshipful Company of Drapers	Livery Company
4	£ 3,820	The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths	Livery Company
5	£ 3,750	The Worshipful Company of Mercers	Livery Company
6	£ 3,705	The Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors	Livery Company
7	£ 2,700	The Worshipful Company of Clothworkers	Livery Company
8	£ 2,350	Messrs Truman Hanbury Buxton & Co	Brewery
9	£ 2,183	Messrs Charles Macintosh & Co	Rubber manufacturers (rubberised textiles)
10	£ 1,665	The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn	Professional Association
11	£ 1,500	Messrs JK Gilliat & Co	Merchant Bank
11	£ 1,500	Messrs Marshall & Snelgrove	Department Store
13	£ 1,250	The Governors of the Charterhouse	Charity
14	£ 1,039	The Worshipful Company of Salters	Livery Company
15	£ 1,005	Messrs Copestake Moore Crampton & Co	Textile wholesaler
16	£ 1,000	Messrs Baring Brothers & Co	Bank
16	£ 1,000	Messrs Reid & Co	Brewery
18	£ 609	The Worshipful Company of Leathersellers	Livery Company
19	£ 602	Messrs Charrington Head & Co	Brewery
20	£ 553	Messrs Leaf & Sons	Warehousemen

Sources and notes: BLF Annual reports. Only Top 20 funders listed.

Table 7.12 ELCF	Amount	Name	Profession
1	£ 5,505	The Worshipful Company of Grocers	Livery Company
2	£ 1,700	The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths	Livery Company
3	£ 1,680	The Worshipful Company of Mercers	Livery Company
4	£ 1,355	Messrs Charrington Head & Co	Brewery
5	£ 998	Messrs Hoare & Co	Bank
6	£ 800	The Worshipful Company of Clothworkers	Livery Company
7	£ 758	The Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors	Livery Company
8	£ 753	Messrs Truman Hanbury Buxton and Co	Brewery
9	£ 567	The Worshipful Company of Drapers	Livery Company
9	£ 567	The Worshipful Company of Leathersellers	Livery Company
11	£ 415	Messrs Mann Crossman & Paulin	Brewery
12	£ 361	Messrs Fruhling & Goschen	Bank
13	£ 345	Marlborough College	Education
14	£ 300	Messrs Robartes Lubbock & Co	Bank
15	£ 273	The Worshipful Company of Skinners	Livery Company
16	£ 210	The Worshipful Company of Salters	Livery Company
17	£ 179	Messrs William Brown & Co	Publisher
18	£ 130	The Worshipful Company of Armourers & Brasiers	Livery Company
19	£ 126	Messrs HJ Bliss & Sons	Surveyor & estate agent
20	£ 113	Messrs Bryant & May Limited	Match manufacturer

Sources and notes: ELCF Annual reports and *London Diocesan Magazine*. Only Top 20 funders listed.

Table 7.13 LDHM	Amount	Name	Profession
1	£267	Worshipful Company of Leather Sellers	Livery Company
2	£200	Messrs Hoare	Bank
2	£200	Messrs Truman Hanbury Buxton & Co	Brewery
4	£61	Messrs Copestake Moore & Co	Textile wholesaler
5	£21	Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors Company	Livery Company
6	£11	Worshipful Company of Salters	Livery Company
7	£10	Messrs Laurence & Mortimer	Leather seller
8	£5	Worshipful Company of Skinners	Livery Company

Sources and notes: LDHM Annual Reports. The table only includes corporate bodies that gave £5 or above.

Table 7.14 LDDI	Amount	Name	Profession
1	£176	Worshipful Company of Salters	Livery Company
2	£50	Small Debts Society	Charity
3	£46	Worshipful Company of Clothworkers	Livery Company
4	£25	Worshipful Company of Grocers	Livery Company
5	£21	Worshipful Company of Mercers	Livery Company
6	£20	Messrs W & A Gilbey	Distiller
7	£11	Worshipful Company of Skinners	Livery Company
7	£11	Windham Club	Gentleman's Club
8	£8	Express Milk Company	Milk Supplier
9	£6	Welch Margetson & Company	Menswear manufacturer

Sources and notes: LDDI Annual Reports. The table only includes corporate bodies that gave £5 or above.

Table 7.2 Top 20 Corporate Funders for BLF, LDHM, LDDI & ELCF (combined figures)

	Amount	Name	Occupation	Organisations
1	£25,000	The Commissioners of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues	State Department	BLF
2	£16,485	The Worshipful Company of Grocers	Livery Company	BLF, ELCF, LDDI
3	£ 5,520	The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths	Livery Company	BLF, ELCF
4	£ 5,451	The Worshipful Company of Mercers	Livery Company	BLF, ELCF, LDDI
5	£ 4,767	The Worshipful Company of Drapers	Livery Company	BLF, ELCF
6	£ 4,484	The Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors	Livery Company	BLF, ELCF, LDHM
7	£ 3,546	The Worshipful Company of Clothworkers	Livery Company	BLF, ELCF, LDDI
8	£ 3,303	Messrs Truman Hanbury Buxton & Co	Brewers	BLF, ELCF, LDHM
9	£ 2,183	Messrs Charles Macintosh & Co	Rubber manufacturers	BLF
10	£ 1,957	Messrs Charrington Head & Co	Brewers	BLF, ELCF
11	£ 1,665	The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn	Professional Association	BLF
=12	£ 1,500	Messrs JK Gilliat & Co	Merchant Bank	BLF
=12	£ 1,500	Messrs Marshall & Snelgrove	Department Store	BLF
14	£ 1,443	The Worshipful Company of Leathersellers	Livery Company	BLF, ELCF, LDHM
15	£ 1,436	The Worshipful Company of Salters	Livery Company	BLF, ELCF, LDHM, LDDI
16	£ 1,298	Messrs Hoare	Bank	BLF, ELCF, LDHM
17	£ 1,250	The Governors of the Charterhouse	Charity	BLF
18	£ 1,100	Messrs Reid & Co	Brewers	BLF, ELCF
19	£ 1,066	Messrs Copestake Moore Crampton & Co	Textile wholesaler	BLF, LDHM
20	£ 1,000	Messrs Baring Brothers & Co	Bank	BLF

Sources: Annual Reports of BLF, LDHM, LDDI and ELCF

Table 7.3 Analysis of Corporate Funders

CATEGORY	Total
Charity	4
Education	6
Finance	45
Food and Drink	26
Government	2
Livery Company	17
Manufacturing and Industry	38
Profession	15
Publishing	11
Service Industry	1
Unknown	19
Total	184

Sources and notes: Annual Reports of BLF, LDHM, LDDI and ELCF. This table gives an analysis of corporate bodies that gave money to the BLF, LDHM, LDDI and ELCF. Analysis only includes organisations that gave £5 or above. The service industry corporate body is a Gentleman's Club.

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¹³³ In many cases, one only copy of the listed printed annual reports has survived. Due to the fact that many of them are difficult to find in library catalogues and are in some cases filed within manuscript collections, the archive location has been indicated in order to aid researchers. Accordingly, unless the annual report has been deposited in the British Library Book Collection, the location has been stated with a shelfmark number. Publication dates are not stated because many of the annual reports do not state a publication date or location. Given that these reports were published in connection with the societies' annual meetings (usually held around the time of the May meetings), they would have been produced in the year subsequent to the accounting year. For example, the *Ninth BLF Annual Report* for the accounting year 1872 would have been published in early 1873. The publication dates stated in library catalogues often refer instead to the society accounting year referred to in the annual report title.

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